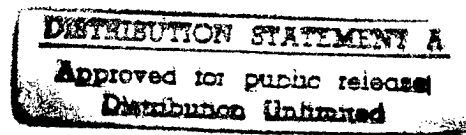


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15 October 1984



# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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15 October 1984

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

TALKS PROPOSAL PROMPTS HOPES FOR IMPROVED U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Beijing LIAOWANG /OUTLOOK/ in Chinese No 29, 16 Jul 84 p 6

/Article by Mei Zhenmin /2734 2182 3046/: "Will Soviet-U.S. Relationship Be Eased?"

/Text/ Recently, both the United States and the Soviet Union have proposed to hold some meeting or talks. Although no positive result can be expected, these proposals have led people to speculate on the possibility that the relationship between them, which has become increasingly cold since the suspension of the "Euromissiles" talks, may take a turn for the better.

On 29 June, the Soviet Government proposed that the U.S.-Soviet talks on the prevention of the militarization of the outer space region be held in Vienna in September. The Reagan Administration, which has time and again refused to hold talks with the Soviet Government on the ground that "there is no way to verify," accepted the Soviet "invitation" this time and also proposed the resumption of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Talks and the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks. The Soviet Union called them preconditions demanded by the United States and expressed its "dissatisfaction" with the U.S. reply. Later, President Reagan of the United States wrote a letter to Chernenko, supreme leader of the Soviet Union, explaining the U.S. position. When the Soviet Union repeated its proposal on 6 July, the United States immediately reaffirmed its original stand and offered to talk over the details of the issues through diplomatic channels.

Recently, Reagan has repeatedly expressed his willingness to meet Chernenko without insisting on the two preconditions--"full preparation" and "prospect of success"--as he always did in holding summit meetings with the Soviet Union.

Reagan also listed 20 "working ties" and called on more Americans to conduct "extensive and more meaningful contacts" with their Soviet counterparts. According to the analyses by Western news agencies, President Reagan may possibly cancel certain sanction measures taken by the United States against the Soviet Union since 1979, as shown by the items he listed.

However, the Soviet Union has not yet formally responded to these proposals.

Reagan's unusual gesture in easing the U.S.-Soviet relationship has something to do with his re-election campaign. During his administration in the past 3½ years, one of his outstanding "successes" was the fairly rapid recovery of the U.S. economy which has become the "catalyst" for Western economic recovery; and another was his vigorous military buildup which has changed the formerly unfavorable position of the United States in its armament rivalry with the Soviet Union. In Reagan's opinion, it is precisely these two "successes" that enable him to have a lead over democratic candidate Mondale in the poll. However, many American people are worried and dissatisfied with Reagan's excessive hard line which has led to increasing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, in addition to a sharp rise in military spendings and the dangers of war. Some influential democratic senators even favored Reagan's meeting with the supreme Soviet leader in order to ease the U.S.-Soviet relationship. The European countries which will become targets of Soviet retaliation because of the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons by the United States are also quite worried by the tense U.S.-Soviet relationship, and therefore, strongly urged the United States to ease this relationship. These demands from the people at home and from its European allies has induced the United States to soften its attitude toward the Soviet Union in various forms, although it has not actually relaxed its efforts in the armament race, as proved by the two following facts: First, the budget for national defense spendings in 1985 is still as high as 272 billion dollars, and this is the fourth consecutive high military spending budget requested by Reagan. Second, on 10 June this year, the United States succeeded in intercepting, at an altitude of 160 km above the Kwaijalein Islands in the Pacific, an intercontinental ballistic missile launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base more than 8,000 km away. This marked an important breakthrough in the manufacture of space weapons.

The Soviet Union's attitude toward Reagan's conciliatory gesture is understandably cold. It declared at the very onset that it had "seen through" Reagan, and had the misgiving that Reagan after his re-election will pursue a harder line. Certainly, it will not respond to Reagan's conciliatory proposal with the intention to help his re-election. It is generally believed that the Soviet-U.S. relationship can hardly be eased before the U.S. general election in November. However, the Soviet Union has also its own difficulties in addition to international opposition, in intensifying its rivalry and armament race with the United States. It may try to take advantage of Reagan's predicament from his haste in easing the U.S.-Soviet relationship during his re-election campaign and force the Reagan Administration to make certain concessions (on such questions as space weapons, for example). Furthermore, some leaders of Western European countries, such as British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe who recently visited Moscow and then shuttled between Washington and Moscow, have urged both the Soviet Union and the United States to have a dialogue. Therefore, later this year, some relaxation of the tension between the two countries may be possible in certain spheres, such as the question of restricting space weapons and intermediate-range missiles, on which talks may be conducted. Yet it will still be very difficult for them to reach an agreement, even though these talks have begun or been restored.

GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO ON FIVE PRINCIPLES FOR COEXISTENCE

HK200735 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 84 p 7

[Article by Pu Yao [2613 6674]: "The Five Principles Will Shine Forever"]

[Text] The five principles of peaceful coexistence have consistently guided the PRC in its effort to develop relations with other countries. China is the first country to have advocated these principles. It is precisely on the basis of these principles that China has established diplomatic relations with more than 100 countries in the world and has played a positive role in safeguarding world peace and opposing hegemonism. The facts of the last 30 years indicate that as the fundamental norms for handling international relations, the five principles of peaceful coexistence conform to the needs of the times and are in the interests of peoples of all countries. Therefore they are praised and widely accepted by more and more countries throughout the world as the norms for guiding interrelations among countries.

After its founding, the PRC adhered to carrying out an independent and peaceful foreign policy. At that time the struggles against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence were vigorously developing in the broad Asian, African, and Latin American regions. In a desperate attempt to continue to dominate and enslave the people of all countries, the imperialists also tried various moves in vain hopes of strangling the newborn PRC. Confronted with this situation, China initiated the five principles of peaceful coexistence with a view toward closing ranks with the oppressed countries and together opposing imperialism and colonialism both old and new.

The tentative idea of the five principles was first expressed by Premier Zhou Enlai in a speech he delivered at a reception for an Indian Government delegation on 31 December 1953. They included such points as "mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence." This speech by Premier Zhou Enlai received a favorable response in India. On 29 April 1954, China and India signed the "agreement on trade and communications between China's Xizang and India," in which these principles were formally enshrined. In June of the same year, Premier Zhou visited India and the joint statement

issued by him and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru reaffirmed these principles. Shortly after that, Premier Zhou visited Burma. The joint statement issued by Premier Zhou and Prime Minister U Nu also accepted these principles as the norms guiding the relations between the two parties.

Jointly initiated by China, India, and Burma, the five principles of peaceful coexistence have had a great impact on the world. This is because as far as the Asian, African, and Latin American countries which are struggling for upholding national independence are concerned, these principles are a powerful weapon to aid them in opposing imperialist intervention and domination. Out of their own interests, although the imperialists are vigorously distorting and vilifying the five principles, these principles are still striking root in the hearts of the people each day. In 1955 at the Bandung conference, a symbol of solidarity among Asian and African countries, the five principles of peaceful coexistence won widespread support. It was only because some delegates knew these principles were first put forth by China and India that they found it a problem to include the principles in the joint communique for what they represented. Consequently, Premier Zhou took the initiative by proposing that the 5 principles be changed into 10 principles. Hence, there are 10 principles in the joint communique of the Bandung conference, which embody the fundamental spirit of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

China is a country which has not only advocated but also vigorously safeguarded and implemented the five principles. It is precisely on the basis of these principles that China has properly resolved questions left over by history with some neighboring countries and strengthened friendly, cooperative relations with Asian, African, and Latin American countries. China has also resolutely opposed the actions of imperialists and colonialists, both old and new, to sabotage these principles, and has supported the struggle of Asian, African, and Latin American countries to uphold independence.

Since the five principles of peaceful coexistence were initiated, 30 years have passed and great changes have taken place in the international situation. However, with great vitality, these principles are playing an increasingly important role in international relations. More and more countries have come to realize that the five principles of peaceful coexistence are applicable to not only the relations among Third World countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but also those among Eastern and Western countries with different social systems. At the same time, they are also applicable to the relations among socialist countries. It is precisely because the demand for following and implementing the five principles of peaceful coexistence in handling international relations has become the strong voice of the people of all countries that even the superpowers no longer dare openly oppose these principles, but must pay lip service to them.

At present people throughout the world are confronted with the common task of safeguarding world peace and opposing hegemonism. The five principles of peaceful coexistence are precisely an important guarantee for safeguarding

world peace and a powerful weapon for opposing hegemonism. Together with the Third World countries and all countries upholding justice, China will work hard for the real implementation of the five principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations.

The five principles of peaceful coexistence will surely shine forever!

CSO: 4005/018



NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

RENMIN RIBAO VIEWS POLITICAL SITUATION IN ISRAEL

HK190757 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 84 p 6

["News Analysis" by Zhu Mengkui [2612 1124 7608]: "Political Situation in Israel Since the General Election in July"]

[Text] On 14 September, the Israeli Knesset approved, by a vote of 89 to 18, the agreement on the formation of a joint cabinet by the Labor Party and the Likud bloc, and Shimon Peres, leader of the Labor Party, was sworn in to the premiership of the 9-party coalition government. Because of the loose unity of the new cabinet and the differences in government administration between the Labor Party and the Likud bloc, the establishment of the Israeli coalition government does not mean the end of the domestic political crisis which followed the general election in July.

The July general election, which had been held before schedule, was an incisive expression of Israel's domestic political crisis. The Labor Party, which had hoped for a comeback, won only 44 seats in the Knesset, and the Likud bloc which attempted to secure the position of the ruling party won only 41 seats, while the remaining 35 seats were won by other minor parties. Neither of the two major political parties could form the cabinet alone because both failed to win a majority of the votes. The results of the Israeli general election indicated that the Israeli people had lost their confidence in these political parties.

Labor Party leader Peres was instructed on 5 August to make preparations and form a coalition government within 3 weeks. The period for forming the cabinet was extended on 26 August for another 3 weeks as the Labor Party and the Likud bloc refused to give way to each other during the talks on making preparations for and forming the coalition government. Now, the Labor Party and the Likud bloc have reached a political compromise after all the trouble. Of the 25 cabinet members, 12 are from the Labor Party and 12 others from the Likud bloc. Some foreign observers commented: "The Labor Party and the Likud bloc hold equal powers in the cabinet. This is a plan to create an endless deadlock."

As the cabinet is jointly formed by the Labor Party and the Likud bloc, there cannot be a complete change in the way in which the Israeli Government handles Arab-Israeli and U.S.-Israeli relations and other major issues

in the future. This also indicates that there cannot be a breakthrough in the Israeli withdrawal of troops from Lebanon or in the Middle East peace talks in the near future. Public opinion in some Arab countries holds that "the Labor Party and the Likud bloc are like the two sides of a coin. They may adopt different strategies, but their common goal is to build a big and powerful Israel." The present deadlock in the Middle East peace talks will continue as long as the Israeli authorities insist on stubbornly clinging to their position of aggression and expansion.

CSO: 4005/013

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

### STRENGTHENED SINO-SRI LANKAN RELATIONSHIP PROMOTED

Beijing LIAOWANG /OUTLOOK/ in Chinese No 23, 4 Jun 84 p 7

/Article by Zhang Mangyi /1728 1332 0308/: "Carry the Sino-Sri Lankan Relationship on to a New Stage"

/Text/ China and Sri Lanka are praised over the world for their firm adherence to the five principles of peaceful coexistence. When President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka visited China in late May, the leaders of both countries stated in their talks that both countries would continue to uphold the five principles of peaceful coexistence which will serve as recognized principles in developing international relationships and settling international disputes in order to ease the international tension and preserve world peace.

The peoples of China and Sri Lanka have a traditional friendship. Since the founding of New China, the governments of both countries have shown mutual understanding, supported each other, and maintained a close relationship in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and heremony, and in their economic, trade and cultural contacts. President Jayewardene is the first head of Sri Lanka to visit China, and this event will form a new chapter in the history of Sino-Sri Lankan friendly cooperation.

In their meetings with President Jayewardene, Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang and Li Xiannian all expressed their support for Sri Lanka's just struggle for the preservation of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and highly praised Sri Lanka for its policy of nonalignment and the positive role it plays in international affairs. They also thanked the Sri Lankan Government for its efforts in restoring China to its legitimate seat in the United Nations.

President Jayewardene praised China for its support for the nonalignment movement and for the struggle of the Third World to establish a just new world economic order. He also expressed his gratitude to China for extending its friendly hand during Sri Lanka's most trying days, for its firm adherence to the principle of noninterference with other countries, and for stressing that no foreign country whatsoever has the right to interfere with Sri Lanka's internal affairs. He more than once mentioned the contribution made by the distinguished monk Fa Xian of the Jin Dynasty to the friendship between the two peoples when this monk visited Sri Lanka more than 1,000 years ago. To

commemorate the person who inaugurated an era of friendship between the two peoples, a village (where Grand Master Fa Xian had temporarily resided) approximately 60 km southwest of Colombo has been named after him. It is also called the "Village of Sino-Sri Lankan Friendship." President Jayewardene told Premier Zhao Ziyang that should Premier Zhao visit Sri Lanka, he would accompany the premier to visit this place which now serves as the symbol of an everlasting traditional friendship between the two peoples.

In 1952, the Sri Lankan Government disregarded the U.S. policy of blockade and signed with China agreements on rubber and rice and rendered great assistance to China. Chairman Li Xiannian told President Jayewardene that Chinese people would never forget their old friends who have extended a friendly hand to us when we were in difficulty. In the past 30 years, the two countries have signed a total of seven 5-year trade agreements, and the trade contacts have promoted each other's economic development as well as mutual understanding and friendship. Recently, economic cooperation between the two countries has been expanded to include engineering contracting, technical guidance and experimental joint ventures.

During this visit, the two countries again signed an agreement on the establishment of a mixed committee for economic and trade cooperation and another agreement on technical cooperation. China has agreed to help Sri Lanka build a mansion for its supreme court. Li Xiannian expressed China's willingness to further develop economic cooperation between the two countries according to the principle of "equality and mutual benefits, stressing actual results and adopting different forms for common development" in order to carry the Sino-Sri Lankan friendly relations on to a new stage.

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CSO: 4005/754

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RESOLUTE PARTICIPATION IN PARTY CONSOLIDATION URGED

Yinchuan NINGXIA SHEHUI KEXUE /SOCIAL SCIENCES IN NINGXIA/ in Chinese No 1,  
Feb 84 pp 1-7

/Article by Yang Hangsheng /2799 2635 3932/: "Conscientiously Study the Documents on Party Consolidation, Enthusiastically Participate in Party Consolidation; Study to Fully Understand the 'Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Party Consolidation'"/

/Text/ The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Party Consolidation," passed by the 2nd Plenum of the 12th CPC National Congress, is a scientific summing up of our party's experiences in party consolidation over the years. It enriches and develops the doctrine on party building in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It is a document of programmatic significance for the strengthening of party building under the newly-created historical conditions, as it is also a guide for the smooth progress of our present party consolidation. The conscientious study and implementation of this "Resolution" is of far-reaching significance for the strengthening of the buildup of the ruling party, for maintaining and perfecting the party's leadership, for the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilization, for achieving the great goals set forth at the 12th Party Congress and for gaining victory in our socialist modernization.

#### I.

The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the true representative of the interests of peoples of all nationality in China and the core of leadership of the socialist cause. Strengthening party building, consolidating the party organization and, most importantly, preserving the party's character as the proletarian vanguard and advanced element, are the chief goals and demands in our party consolidation. Achieving a fundamental turn for the better in our party's workstyle, raising the ideological level and quality of work throughout the entire party, rendering the relations between the party and the masses even much closer and making efforts to have party building become the powerful core in the guidance of our socialist modernization requires that we act in accordance with the spirit of the "Resolution" in conscientiously and effectively carrying out the present party consolidation.

From the day of its inception, our party has shouldered the heavy task of the Chinese revolution and construction and shouldered the heavy task of helping the peoples of various nationalities gain liberation, establish socialism and bring about communism. Building our party has a bearing on the rise and decline of the country and on the fate of our nation, and our party has therefore throughout the years paid extremely close attention to the buildup of the party itself. When Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experiences of our new-democratic revolution, he looked on party building as one of the three great magic weapons for victory in the revolution. Following the establishment of our government, the Eighth CPC National Congress without further delay took such important measures as raising the question of strengthening the buildup of the ruling party, adherence to the mass line and opposition to bureaucratism, strengthening the system of democratic centralism and collective leadership and opposing personality cult, etc. However, due to various historical reasons, these proposals and resolutions could not effectively and thoroughly be implemented. After smashing the "gang of four" and particularly following the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party again returned to the ideological, political and organizational lines of Marxism and gave its utmost interest and attention to strengthening party building. In 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that leadership of the party is the core in upholding the four basic principles. In the 47th article in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and in direct and indirect references to the question in over 30 articles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping thoroughly discusses the question of party building and sets forth many ideas of a guiding character. In 1981, Comrade Chen Yun goes one step further in pointing out: "The question of party workstyle of the ruling party is a question of life and death for the party." Comrade Hu Yaobang again emphatically pointed out at the 12th CPC National Congress: "We must make party building the powerful core in our leadership of the socialist modernizations." During that period of time, the 5th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee drew up "Certain Guiding Principles Concerning the Political Life Within the Party," the 6th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee passed the "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions Since the Founding of the PRC," and the party's Central Committee adopted a series of measures to effectively strengthen party building, bringing about a marked improvement in the condition of the party, preserving the advanced character of the party and guaranteeing the rapid development of our various socialist undertakings.

Strengthening the party building of the ruling party is a problem in the international communist movement that must be further studied and solved in theory and in practice. Lenin once said: "It is absolutely impossible to prevent careerists and other harmful elements from finding an opportunity to lurk into the ruling party. This phenomenon has occurred in every revolution and in fact none can be without it. The whole question is whether the ruling party, with the backing of a strong advanced class, will be capable of cleansing its own ranks."<sup>1</sup> Today, ours is a large party that leads 1 billion people in a socialist modernization drive, supported by almost 40 million party members, a party that has been in power for over 30 years. In this position the ruling party has created favorable conditions to an unprecedented degree for the realization of the party's propositions and political line. However, its position has also brought the party new special phenomena and problems in its party building and increased the need for efforts to preserve and improve the advanced character

of the party. This is so because: in the change position of this current governing party, having turned from being ruled to ruling, from a powerless position to a position of power, there are certain party members and cadres who have relaxed in the strict requirement of a strong party spirit and have possibly used the power in their hands to seek special privileges and private profits, infringing on the interests of the state, the collectives and the masses and even going so far as to taking the road to criminality. Add to it the fact that long periods of peaceful environment and the disturbing interferences of erroneous trends from the "left" and the right have caused many party members to gradually become indifferent to the sentiments of the past when they shared joys and sorrows with the masses and the two were inseparable like fish and water. Because of an influx of bourgeois mentality, some unstable elements in the party were drawn unavoidably toward claiming credit selfishly and assuming an arrogant attitude, seeking ease and comfort, taking a negative and dispirited attitude and divorcing themselves from the masses, with some even going so far as to becoming corrupt, sinking into depravity and degenerating into moral decay. On the other hand, when people joined the party during the war years before liberation, there was not only no place for fame or gain, but they even had to be prepared to make all kinds of sacrifices, even to be ready to give their lives. Now, things are different. There are no more strict and grim dangers or tests to face when joining the party, which sometimes even brings added trust and important positions. Some people therefore regard joining the party as a beneficial and facile way to gain advantages, and for this reason some people who harbor selfish designs and whose motives are anything but pure will try by hook or by crook to worm themselves into the party. This situation, when some of the original party members and cadres will show ideological changes under the new situation and when in addition some people intent on selfish gains lurk into the party, is a state that easily leads to an impurity of the party in terms of ideology workstyle and organization. At the same time as our party became the ruling party, its tasks also underwent a fundamental change, with a shift of focus from the past task of leading the revolutionary war and carrying out the new-democratic revolution to the socialist modernization drive. We are not only intent on destroying the old world, but are intent on creating a new one; this is an even more glorious and arduous task. We are facing many new conditions and new problems; we must apply ourselves to studies and finding solutions and must learn to master and employ the objective laws of socialist construction. However, the ideological level and work capability of many of our party members is not completely up to the task of coping with and accomplishing our new historical mission. All that was said in the above fully explains that after becoming the ruling party, the task of party building has become not a light, but a more arduous and more formidable task and the demands on our party members have become even greater and more severe.

It is worth noting that there are now some of our comrades who are somewhat indifferent toward and disinterested in the party building of the ruling party. Some leading comrades are fond of taking on administrative duties and have become accustomed to order people about, but do not pay attention to the building of the party itself, and the phenomenon of the party being indifferent to party affairs is quite a serious matter. Some party committees seldom call meetings to discuss problems of the party structure itself; they neglect

investigation and study of the ideological state and basic organizational condition of the party members and are unable to solve promptly any existing problems. In some cases the basic organization is lax and scattered; there has been no organizational life for long periods of time and there has been no recruitment of party members, so that certain party organizations are unable to play their role as fighting bastions and some party members are unable to play their role as vanguard models, or basically lack all qualifications. Under these mentioned conditions, strengthening party building assumes an even more important and more urgent aspect.

Maintaining the advanced character of the party, strengthening party building in the ruling party and raising the fighting strength of the party requires as the most important condition that the party manage the party. If the party does not manage the party, it is bound to suffer the consequences. We must take the strengthening of the party's ideological and organizational buildup firmly in hand as a matter to be paid regular attention and to be regarded as of prime importance. Carrying out an overall consolidation of the party is precisely a major strategic measure and method of the party to effectively manage the party. We must as a matter of course conscientiously study and implement the "Resolution," carry on the glorious tradition of our party, effectively consolidate and build up the party in an earnest, conscientious, down-to-earth manner and satisfactorily realize the tasks and demands of the present party consolidation.

## II.

Party consolidation is a kind of creation undertaken by our party; it is an excellent tradition in our party and an effective form and method of strengthening party building. Since the rectification of incorrect work styles in Yanan, our party has accumulated abundant successful experiences in this respect and has also learned profound lessons. In connection with its resolution on party consolidation, the Central Committee has scientifically summed up our party's positive and negative experiences and clearly drawn up the basic tasks, principles and policies as well as methods and steps for the present party consolidation, in a document which is of an extremely important guidance nature in the history of our party.

After its publication, the "Resolution" received enthusiastic endorsement and support from the broad masses of cadres and people within and outside the party. In my opinion, the following are the principal points in the "Resolution by the CPC Central Committee on Party Consolidation":

First, the "Resolution" is on the one hand faithful to the Marxist doctrine on party building and on the other hand befitting Chinese national conditions and the actual conditions of our party. It employs dialectic materialism and historical materialism in a scientific analysis and realistic assessment of our party's contingent, and of the position, environment and the historical mission it shoulders. The "Resolution" points out: "Our party is a great Marxist party that has undergone protracted tests. Even though our party has suffered serious losses in the 10 years of internal turmoil, the main stream of our party contingent has still remained pure and full of a strong fighting



spirit." Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, "the condition of the party has markedly improved, having undergone a period of hard work and struggle, and the healthy forces have very much gained the upper hand. This fully illustrates that our party is absolutely capable of relying on its own strength in overcoming its darker sides and in correcting its mistakes, to advance in even greater vitality." The facts are precisely like this. In its career of 60-odd years since its inception, our party has fully demonstrated that it is a great political party, armed with the weapons of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and that provides the strong leadership core for the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. On this foundation, the "Resolution" also soberly points out that our party is not at all absolutely perfect and without blemish. There still exist in our party many serious problems and there has not yet been sufficient time to carry out overall and systematic solutions. There still exist serious ideological, workstyle and organizational impurities, and changing all these conditions is an extremely important and urgent task that must be accomplished in the present party consolidation. The "Resolution" also distinctly points out that we must further raise the ideological level, the policy level and work level throughout the entire party to meet the needs of the new period of the four modernizations. The sober assessment of the above-stated conditions given by the "Resolution" is realistic and will fundamentally guarantee our overall victory in the present party consolidation. A comparison with the "cultural revolution" and the "party consolidation" of those days can provide us with an even clearer view. The "party consolidation" at that time made a completely mistaken assessment of our country's class situation, of the political condition of our state and our party, of the party's organization and membership, etc. It was asserted at that time that a large number of leading exponents of the bourgeoisie and of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements had infiltrated into our party, government, armed forces and into the various cultural circles, that the leadership power of a considerable majority of units was already no more in the hands of Marxists and of the masses, that there was a bourgeois headquarters within the party, that there was also a revisionist political and organizational line, that we must recover the powers usurped by the capitalist-roaders and that one class must overturn another class. The result of all this was that the calamity of the "cultural revolution" was aggravated, and that the state and the people suffered setbacks and losses of unprecedented severity during these 10 years of internal turmoil. It shows us that a sober analysis and correct assessment of a revolutionary situation is extremely important from the standpoint of any political party.

Second, with a clear and accurate leading ideology, we must focus our attention on ideological education. The "Resolution" points out that we must strengthen ideological education throughout the process of party consolidation, from beginning to end, focusing on raising the ideological consciousness of the broad masses of our party members. In party building, our party has the glorious tradition of giving priority to the ideological buildup. The various methods adopted during the 1942 Yanan rectification of incorrect workstyles, such as "political studies must be given priority, take ideological education as the point of departure," "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the sickness to save the patient," are all expressions of this glorious tradition. The tasks of our present party consolidation are seeking unity of

thinking, rectifying styles of work, strengthening discipline and purifying the organization. To accomplish all these tasks, it is even more necessary to strengthen ideological education from beginning to end, focusing our attention on raising the ideological consciousness among the broad masses of party members. Every single party member without exceptions must work to raise his understanding of the character of the party, its guiding principles and its mission, raise his awareness of the standards demanded of party members and raise his understanding of the party's political line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Only by raising such understanding can we expect that right and wrong will be clearly distinguished, that mistaken "leftist" or rightist tendencies will be corrected, that unhealthy tendencies will be checked, that the organization will be cleansed, that elements who persist in opposing or endangering the party will be eliminated and ejected from the party and that the task of party consolidation will be accomplished. The party consolidation is to serve not only to strengthen education of the new party members, but also to strengthen the education of the old party members, especially those in the position of leading cadres. The intention is to have every single party member conform to the standards demanded of members of the communist party, consciously carry out all obligations of a party member, rid himself of all present ideological and workstyle mistakes and all unhealthy trends and evil practices, to fight all his life for the cause of communism, and it is in this point that it differs from the party consolidations and workstyle rectifications conducted combined with the previous political movements that started in the later years of the 1950's. Those movements were always conducted under the ideological precept of "taking class struggle as the key link." Although they gained certain successes, many blunders were committed, and the "party consolidation" of the "cultural revolution" was more than all others under the direction of an erroneous "Leftist" political line, as it carried out brutal struggles, ruthless attacks, caused utter disorder, confusing right and wrong, taking enemies for comrades and comrades for enemies, and causing numerous cases of miscarriage of justice. The present party consolidation "Resolution" took a lesson from the previous experiences in party consolidation and proceeded in an overall correct and absolutely scientific manner in determining and setting forth its guiding ideology.

Third, proceed step by step safely and maintain resolute leadership. The "Resolution" points out: "The step by step procedures of the present party consolidation are: from the central organs to the basic organizations, from above to below, rectification in stages and by groups. The rectification in the party organization of every unit shall also proceed from top to bottom, taking the leading groups and the leading cadres first, then the broad masses of party members." These demands illustrate the glorious tradition of our party of the leadership at all levels setting personal examples and show the firm resolution of the central organs of the party to make a success of the present party consolidation. The top-ranking central authorities and the top-ranking organs in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions occupy extremely important positions in all activities of the party and the state. The leading groups in all party organizations, from central authority down to the basic organizations, form the leadership core at every level and in every organization of the party. The question whether their ideological line is correct, whether they are fully imbued with the spirit of wholeheartedly serving

the people, whether their style of work is good and whether their personnel is clean and honest, has a direct bearing on whether the political line, principles and policies of the party and the state and all laws and regulations will find full and earnest implementation, whether party building and the establishment of political power can be effectively achieved and whether there will be a healthy progress and development in the establishment of the "two kinds of civilization." To carry out consolidation from higher to lower levels and in stages and in groups, it is first necessary to consolidate the top-ranking party organizations, rectify their ideological line and raise the level of their policies, thus making it possible to correctly implement the central authorities' resolution on party consolidation and to effectively consolidate the party organizations of districts and departments under their leadership. Only after completion of the consolidation of the leading groups in the party organizations at all levels, the strengthening of the sense of party spirit, establishment of internal solidarity and improvement of workstyle, can work be carried out in a courageous and responsible manner, will there be the courage to make a stand against stiff opposition, will there be the courage to deal with the problems arising in the course of the party consolidation and will one thus be able to guarantee a smooth progress of the party consolidation. It shows us that carrying out the consolidation from the higher toward the lower levels, by stages and in groups, is an effective measure to bring about a basic turn for the better in the party's workstyle. If there is no resolution of the problems in the top-ranking organs and leading groups, it will be very difficult to handle certain problems in the lower ranks. The "Resolution" particularly enlarges on the problem of avoiding a mere going through the motions. This also fully illustrates the great determination of the central authorities as regards the present party consolidation and their determination to resolve relevant problems.

Fourth, we must on the one hand follow the mass line, but also not have nonparty masses decide internal party problems. The "Resolution" demands that we must follow the mass line in our present party consolidation. However, it also stresses that we must not repeat the "party rectification by the masses" of the past by having nonparty masses decide on the party's internal problems. The mass line is our party's fundamental line. In order to implement the party line in the course of our party consolidation, and to heed the opinions of the masses outside the party, the Central Commission Guiding Party Consolidation work specially issued certain regulations concerning the full consideration of opinions by friends and masses outside the party during the process of the party consolidation. The meaning of the party's mass line is to do everything for the masses, to rely in everything on the masses, to proceed from the masses and to go amongst the masses. Party consolidation is an effort to rectify all defects and mistakes that are inconsistent with the interests of the people, to have the broad masses of party members truly play their role as models and leaders and to guide the peoples of all nationalities in efforts to accomplish the various tasks put forward by the party. We may say, the party consolidation itself is a vivid manifestation of the mass line.

In order to follow the mass line in the course of the party consolidation, we must first of all listen attentively to the views of the broad masses of party members and of the lower level organizations. We must bring the enthusiasm of

the broad masses of party members fully into play. The higher level party organizations must promptly report the conditions of the party consolidation to the lower level organizations and demand that the lower level organizations carry out supervision and criticism. The lower level party organizations and the broad masses of party members must make full use of their democratic rights and make the true conditions known to the higher level organizations, reveal existing problems and jointly work for a successful party consolidation. Next, we must consult with the masses outside the party whenever matters arise and listen extensively to the opinions of the nonparty masses. Every appropriate suggestion must be eagerly adopted and earnest explanations must be given to any inappropriate suggestions. Listening to and respecting opinions from the nonparty masses is fundamentally different from the "party rectification by the masses" during the "cultural revolution" and different from mistaken methods of allowing nonparty masses to solve internal problems of the party. That would be a violation of the provisions of the Party Constitution and a denial of the leadership of the party as well as manifest sabotage of our party organization. During the present party consolidation we shall certainly keep this historical lesson in mind and correctly implement the mass line of the party.

Fifth, have the party organizations at all levels fully play their role. In the course of the party consolidation, the higher level party organizations will generally not dispatch work groups, which is completely consistent with the actual conditions of our party organization and also beneficial for a greater effectiveness of party consolidation work. After the smashing of the "gang of four," especially following the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party engaged in a series of endeavors and struggles and the healthy forces have already gained a strong upper hand in the party. The great majority of the members of leading groups in the party organizations at all levels are good or fairly good men. We can trust that they will do a good job of guiding the party consolidation in their units. Leading the party consolidation in reliance of the party organization in the unit in question, will have them tempered and tested and will raise their ideological and policy level and improve their capability to solve problems in the course of actual work. The "Resolution" furthermore prescribes that if there are units where the situation is complex, where serious problems have arisen and where the leading group is incapable of shouldering the responsibility, the higher level party authority must send a work group to render assistance. The work group must be headed by the responsible cadre of the higher level party authority and its task must be to effectively reorganize the leading group and have the party consolidation carried out by the reorganized leading group. This is quite different from the mistaken method of the past when the higher level authority dispatched a work group, having the lower organization stand aside, "taking over the whole empire," and running the whole show themselves. In that way the party rectification was not well accomplished, and even less was it possible to consolidate the results of the party consolidation.

In short, the "Resolution" by the party Central Committee fully reflects the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and is an excellent Marxist document. From its guiding ideology down to specific methods and steps, it carries on the glorious tradition of Yanan, it drew from the historical experiences of

past party consolidations and rectifications of workstyle as well as from the fresh experiences from party building since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. On the one hand it completely abandons such things as the "leftist" methods that had prevailed for a long time, especially since the "cultural revolution," and on the other hand also corrects and guards against various rightist trends that could jeopardize our party building. Precisely as the "Resolution" points out: "The Central Committee believes that the present party consolidation is bound to raise the level of Marxism throughout the entire party, is bound to give our party even greater vitality and vigor and is bound to bring forth a new atmosphere of hard work for the prosperity of the country and of a close solidarity. If it is said that the 1942 Yanan rectification of the party's workstyle achieved ideological unity throughout the party, guaranteed victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and in the War of Liberation and thus brought about the establishment of the PRC, then the present party consolidation will certainly make it possible for our party to more effectively lead the peoples of various nationalities throughout our country to win great victories in our socialist modernization."

### III.

Studying the documents is laying the foundation for effective party consolidation, as it is also a major substance of the party consolidation. It is a precursor to party consolidation and permeates the entire party consolidation. Seeking unity of thinking is the first major step in party consolidation; only by strengthening political studies, can unity of thinking truly be achieved. Only after unity of thinking have been achieved, will it be possible for everyone, be it in the area of rectifying workstyle, or strengthening discipline, or purifying the party organization, to have a correct and common basis of understanding, and only then will it be possible to orient the ideology of all party members and party cadres uniformly toward the party's political line, principles and policies, when all will maintain true political unanimity with the party Central Committee.

In the course of our studies, we must energetically strive for a comprehensive and accurate study and understanding of the "Resolution" and the other party consolidation documents. We must not pick out one or two phrases, or this or that passage, but must earnestly comprehend the spiritual essence of the documents. We must firmly uphold the party's style of study of integrating theory with practice, comparing the spirit of the documents, conscientiously clear up our own thinking, words and deeds and also launch criticism and self-criticism, strengthen party spirit and master the weapons at our disposal. Each single communist party member must conscientiously examine whether the pledge he made when joining the party is now a stronger force in his heart or whether it has weakened, check against the standards for party members which of them he has attained and which of them he has not yet attained and what efforts he will make from now on to attain the standards of a communist party member. Each must check his own state of understanding of the party Central Committee's political line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and whether he maintains complete ideological and political unanimity with the party Central Committee. Every single party member must conscientiously study the documents, increase his knowledge, correct his attitude, rectify while reforming, in order to join enthusiastically in the party consolidation, imbued with a high degree of revolutionary consciousness.

As it is the case in all other parts of the country, the great majority of party members on the ideological and theoretical front in our district has for a long time looked forward to the present party consolidation. They cherish a strong revolutionary demand and hope that the present party consolidation will effectively rectify the party, will truly render the party into the powerful core of leadership in our socialist cause and will bring about a great improvement in everyone's ideological level and work quality as well as a great change in workstyle. However, there are indeed some party comrades who lack correct understanding and enthusiasm for the present party consolidation. Some place themselves outside the party organization and assume an attitude of indifference. Some hold a unduly high opinion of themselves and believe themselves to be "consistently right," therefore would have nothing to be rectified. Some believe that since the leading group had just been reorganized and is new, cadres having been elected according to the demands of the "four modernizations," there would be nothing to rectify. There is also a small minority of party members who have one or the other shortcoming or blemish and who take a negative and pessimistic attitude as they await the time that they will be "rectified," etc., etc. All these cases are manifestations of incorrect attitude, which must be corrected and overcome as soon as possible.

Everyone of us communist party members, including those working on the ideological front, have voluntarily joined the party. "Voluntarily" means that we had resolved to fight for the cause of communism and to accept the restrictions of party discipline from the day we made our pledges on joining the party. This includes forsaking everything that is detrimental to the interests of the party, even not to hesitate to sacrifice our lives, if necessary. There may be changes in the work place or environment of a party member after he joined the party, he may become successful in this or that field, but there must be no wavering or change in his conviction and resolve to fight all his life for the cause of communism. These are the commendable qualities of a genuine member of the communist party. It is therefore necessary for all party members working on the ideological front to regard themselves first of all as common party members, and not see themselves as this or that successful expert, or as something special and as wiser than the party. Only by first regarding himself as a common party member, carrying on work in the spirit of communism, using the ideological system of communism in observing and dealing with all problems, using communist ideology and ethics as norms for his own words and deeds, can a party member promote and effectively accomplish the work at his post and can he be worthy of the honorable designation of member of the communist party. Solving effectively the problem of regarding themselves as communist party members is the most important demand in the present party consolidation, addressed to the party organizations and party members on the ideological front.

Speaking of the large number of communist party members on the ideological and theoretical front, it is even more important for them to study thoroughly the documents concerning party consolidation and to enthusiastically participate in the party consolidation. The party consolidation itself is a one-time great communist practice, and through the party consolidation it is possible to personally participate in the practice of strengthening party building, as well as to enrich one's own theoretical knowledge and raise one's own theoretical

level, so as to lay a foundation for even more effective theoretical work in the future. In this question, it will be necessary to work hard to overcome the complacency of a small minority of comrades who consider themselves "consistently correct" and wiser than the party. Where is there any person in real life who is "consistently right!" The idea itself of being "consistently right" runs counter to Marxism and is incorrect. As to the new leading groups, the new groups established in the organizational readjustments indeed constitute a favorable condition guaranteeing the smooth progress of the present party consolidation. However to have new ideas, a new workstyle and to initiate a new overall situation, the new leading groups must pay even more attention to their own development. The new leading groups are good starting points, but they are not at all the guarantee that everything is fine. If the new leading groups do not pay attention to their own development, there is the danger that they will equally "go the old road," or even degenerate. The lessons of history and the warnings from former mistakes must attract the serious attention of each member of a new leading group on the ideological front. Every new leading group must strengthen its own development and work hard to improve itself in every respect in order to suit the needs of the new developments and fulfill the great trust of the party and the people. The present party consolidation is an important affair in the activities of our party; "the Central Committee demands that all party members without exception enthusiastically participate in the party consolidation." The "Resolution" furthermore points out: "Those party members and party cadres who have committed various kinds of mistakes must of their own accord correct the mistakes and must not wait until the party consolidation of their unit will undertake the solution." In the course of the party consolidation it is wrong to take an indifferent, negative or pessimistic attitude. Every member of the communist party must conscientiously study the documents, raise his own consciousness, correct his own attitude and enthusiastically participate in the party consolidation. There are presently some party members on the ideological front who are unable to correctly launch criticism and self-criticism, harboring various apprehensions. These comrades should understand the principle that "running water is never stale and a door-hinge never gets worm-eaten;" this is a law of objects in motion. Correctly launching criticism and self-criticism is an effective method of resolving contradictions within the party. It is a key link in guaranteeing that the present party consolidation will not only be a perfunctory exercise, and whether one is capable of undertaking it in this way is an important indicator to measure whether a communist party member has revolutionary consciousness. One of the important grounds for believing that our party is capable of relying on its own strength to effectively consolidate the party is that our party has the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, and that it, furthermore, is capable of using this traditional method to resolve its own contradictions, overcome its dark sides and to advance unceasingly. Launching criticism and self-criticism must start out from a desire for solidarity, it must be conducted with the idea of helping those criticized, of "taking warning from the past in order to be more careful in the future, and of treating the illness in order to save the patient." It must seek truth from facts, accept only facts as evidence, and must allow the person to defend himself. It must stress truth and not merely try to be facesaving. There must be an integration of the dignity, incisiveness and scientific character of criticism and self-criticism, and it must achieve the goal of a clarification of ideology, correction of

mistakes as well as a solidarity among comrades and joint progress. Attention must be given to avoiding and overcoming subjectivism and bias, and it is absolutely impermissible to overstate and exaggerate limitlessly. It is even permissible to make stories or profer false charges. To prevent and overcome the inclination of seeking good relations and keeping on good terms with all and sundry at the expense of principle, it is necessary not to be overlenient toward bad elements and evil things, or to associate oneself in disregard of principles. We must guard against sectarianism and the disturbing interferences of factionalism. Every communist party member on the ideological front must arm himself with the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, must attach greatest importance to the undertakings of the party and listen to the opinions from all sides with an open mind. He must be "openhearted and magnanimous, faithful and zealous. He must consider the interests of the revolution as the first thing in life and consider personal interests as subordinate to the interests of the revolution. No matter when and where, he must uphold the correct principles and carry out an unrelenting fight against all incorrect ideologies and actions.<sup>2</sup>

There are now certain party members who lack faith in the present party consolidation. Some believe, as party workstyle has deteriorated and conditions have become complicated, a solution will be difficult to find. Some think that because problems have piled up high and bad old practices will hardly die out, no results will come from the party consolidation. Some worry that "the rain will have passed, the topsoil will have been moistened, but the problem will not have been solved," fearing that the party consolidation will pass as a perfunctory exercise and will end up with nothing having been settled. The main reason for the lack of confidence in the party is a lack of a correct analysis of the conditions of the party, an undue attention to the "dark sides" of the party and an underestimation of our party's ability to solve its own problems by reliance on its own strength and an underestimation of the progress made by the party in the last few years. All these views do not conform with reality. In actual fact, there are many favorable conditions for the overall party consolidation that we now intend to carry out: first, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have re-established the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines. Through a series of struggles to bring order out of chaos, we have basically clarified the longstanding political and theoretical disputes and greatly strengthened and consolidated the solidarity in the party. The 12th CPC National Congress summed up one step further the work and struggle since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and established a clear and definite fighting program for our party and our state. It passed the new Party Constitution, setting forth even higher demands on the party organization and on party members and laying a firm ideological foundation for the present party consolidation. Next, in the last few years, our party carried out a large amount of preparatory work for the party consolidation. For instance, clarifying investigations, discussion of the standards for truth, implementation of policies, promotion of the production responsibility system in rural areas, readjustment of the leading groups, strong measures against serious criminal activities in the economic field, building the socialist spiritual civilization, elimination of spiritual pollution, etc., all these activities have to varying degrees the character of party consolidation and markedly improved the ideological and organizational conditions of the party



and its style of work. All localities have selected various typical units as experimental units for party consolidation and certain experiences have been gained in this way. On the basis of thorough investigation and study, the party Central Committee has now formulated a new set of correct principles and policies for party consolidation. Third, the Central Committee selected by the 12th CPC National Congress is a strong and effective headquarters, that is completely trustworthy and constitutes a firm core capable of controlling the complex situation. We have a large number of faithful proletarian fighters, tested over long periods of time, who form the mainstay of the present party consolidation. In the course of the organizational readjustments, a large number of party members who meet the demands of the four modernizations have moved into leading positions, and the leadership power at all levels is basically in the hands of cadres who are loyal to the party and to the people. The healthy forces in the party have gained the upper hand, and they are adequate to vanquish all unhealthy trends and evil practices. All party members on the ideological front must clearly understand the situation, be inspired with enthusiasm and participate in the party consolidation and in the struggle to eliminate all spiritual pollution with full confidence. In the first half of last year, the party committee of this autonomous region carried out experiments in party consolidation in six different typical units of our region. The results of the experiments show that a large majority of the units achieved good results in their party consolidation. There was a very substantial improvement in the political quality of the party members, a marked turn for the better in party workstyle, a great improvement in the relationship between the party and the masses, a marked increase in the fighting strength of the party and a further purification of the party's organization, which all promoted the development of work and production. The opinion of the masses was: "There is a great difference between not having and having had party consolidation"; "the excellent tradition of the party has returned"; "the present party consolidation has made us see hope again." The effective party consolidation and the basic turn for the better in party workstyle are the aspirations of the party and the people and are something that no force can block. If we will only fully utilize the favorable conditions, resolutely implement the Central Committee's resolution on party consolidation, we shall absolutely be able, through a joint effort of the broad masses of party members throughout the region, to make a success of party consolidation. The objectives of the party consolidation will definitely be achieved.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "The Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 29, p 393.
2. "The Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 4, p 349.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO ELIMINATE FACTIONALISM

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by Zhang Lijia [1728 4539 0857]: "Communists Must Serve as Examples in Elimination of Factionalism"]

[Text] During the 10-year internal turmoil, factionalist struggles brought serious disasters to the party and the people. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee and through the return to order from chaos, factionalism has been eliminated somewhat. But in a small number of party members and party-member cadres, factionalism is still playing tricks and in some cases it is still quite serious. They substitute party character with factionalism, draw boundary lines by factions, hire people merely on the basis of how close they are to themselves, exclude those who differ from themselves, form cliques to plot for private gains, and thus seriously endanger the party's unity and integrity and hinder the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. Factionalism is incompatible with the party character of a Communist. Party members still inflicted by factionalism must during our party rectification conscientiously overcome it; only thus can they be qualified Communists.

A Communist thoroughly eliminating his factionalism ideologically is not only required by the strengthening of party building itself but likely to play an exemplary role among the masses so as to enable the people of our various nationalities to unite together and work on our four modernizations with one heart and one mind. In order to thoroughly eliminate factionalism, we must first of all thoroughly negate the "Cultural Revolution." A "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee points out: "The 'Cultural Revolution' was an integral disturbance erroneously instigated by the leader and utilized by the counter-revolutionary cliques which brought serious calamities to the party, the state and the people of our various nationalities." This is a scientific analysis and correct appraisal of the "Cultural Revolution," and it reflects the common will of the people throughout the country. As a product of that internal disturbance, factionalism, viewed from its formation, development and the role it played, had from beginning to end the so-called theory of "continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" as its guide;

activities to seize power and to carry out armed struggles served to aggravate the "Cultural Revolution." Therefore, all factions in the "Cultural Revolution" were erroneous. Only by thoroughly negating the "Cultural Revolution" can we thoroughly negate the two factions and further thoroughly eliminate factionalism. Every Communist must take this resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee as his guide; he must never deviate from reality by establishing any other criteria of right and wrong, appraising any victory or defeat, or comparing any upperhand and lowerhand. This is the key to whether or not we can thoroughly eliminate factionalism.

To thoroughly eliminate factionalism, we must also have the whole situation in mind and refrain from calculating personal favors or grievances or gains or losses. Every one of us Communists must begin with ourselves by summing up our experiences and lessons and thoroughly eliminate factionalism ideologically. Some comrades were themselves subjected to criticism and struggles during the "Cultural Revolution," were locked up in a "cow shed"; they were devastated spiritually and physically. In such cases, they also need not harbor grudges. We must see that all this is the evil result of factionalism. This account can only be ascribed to Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to the root cause of factionalism. If we proceed from personal favors or grievances or gains or losses and substitute factionalism for the feelings between comrades, then we would be unable to maintain unity and integrity in our party ranks.

To thoroughly eliminate factionalism, we must also carry out more self-criticism and refrain from covering up contradictions. Factionalism is a kind of stubborn disease; it cannot be covered up or buried. Even if it is covered up now, it might pop up still later. Comrades with factionalist ideas must make up their minds in a big way, pay full attention to it, seriously analyze it ideologically, and take the initiative to carry out self-criticism. The deeper their analyses, the more thorough would be its elimination. If we cover up factionalism, we would only leave obstacles in our path ahead and a cause of ruin.

To thoroughly eliminate factionalism, our party members must further set themselves as examples. During the "Cultural Revolution," because of the prevailing historical conditions certain leading comrades became tinged in factionalism of uneven degrees and affected by the impact of factionalism. On this, these leading cadres must take the lead in actively and positively eliminating their factionalism so as to serve as examples for the masses of the party members. In the case of a very small number of people whose factionalism has been very serious or who are still forming cliques and resorting to factionalist activities, we must investigate their situations clearly and mete our pertinent punishments solemnly without remaining flabby and feeble or condoning and placating.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### REGIONAL FORUMS DISCUSS PARTY DISCIPLINE

OW200327 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0857 GMT 19 Sep 84

[By RENMIN RIBAO and XINHUA reporters]

[Text] Beijing, 19 September (XINHUA)--The Discipline Inspection Commission of the CPC Central Committee recently held north, northeast, southwest, northwest and central-south China regional forums on party discipline inspection work in various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. The forums discussed how to achieve a remarkable turn for the better in the style of the party this year, how to correctly understand the relationship between a good style for the party and reform, and how to bring into better play the role of the party's discipline inspection work in the course of reform. The forums conveyed to the participants the Central Discipline Inspection Commission Permanent Secretary Wang Heshou's speech at a Beijing forum on discipline inspection work in some provinces and municipalities.

A forum on party discipline inspection work in eight provinces, municipalities, and autonomous region in north and northeast China was held in Jilin City from 18 to 24 August, and was presided over by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission Secretary Ma Guorui. The forum held that the style of the party in these provinces, municipalities, and autonomous region had been further improved, but quite a few problems, in connection with the style of the party, still existed in some localities, departments and organizations, and a great deal of work remained to be done to achieve a remarkable turn for the better in the style of the party this year. The forum pointed out: In order to set the party style to rights, it is necessary to pay attention to fundamental problems. It is necessary to negate the "great cultural revolution" completely, resolutely overcome factionalism and seriously sort out "three types of persons." It is necessary to concentrate on opposing, and correcting, seriously irresponsible bureaucracy, and the unhealthy tendency of taking advantage of one's power to seek private gain. The key to righting the party style and enforcing party discipline lies in leadership. The principal leading cadres of the party committees, at all levels, should take a hand in the task, and dare to deal with tough cases. Efforts should be made at every level, so that the whole party is taking action to improve the party style.

A forum on discipline inspection work in nine provinces and autonomous regions in southwest and northwest China was held in Urumqi City from 22 to 29 August.

The forum exchanged information on how the nine provinces and autonomous regions implemented the guidelines of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission work conference. It also introduced the experience of various provinces and autonomous regions, including Shaanxi, in improving the party style, and studied such questions as how to do good party discipline inspection work, and support and promote reforms under the new situation. After discussion, the forum held that these provinces and autonomous regions had made achievements in improving the party style, but the unhealthy tendency of taking advantage of one's power to seek private gain still occurred now and then in some organizations, and seriously irresponsible bureaucracy had not yet been overcome; that these provinces and autonomous regions had just started education to negate the "great cultural revolution," factionalism had not yet been eradicated in some localities and organizations, nor had lax discipline been successfully improved in some localities and organizations. Han Tianshi, a secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, who chaired the forum, pointed out that, under the excellent situation of overall party rectification, we would achieve a remarkable turn for the better in party style this year, if we would adopt effective measures, and make real efforts in the next 4 months.

A forum on the party discipline inspection work in four provinces and an autonomous region in central-south China was held in Dongguan County, Guangdong Province from 21 August to 7 September, and was presided over by Cai Shunli, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. In light of the experience of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, the meeting discussed how to correctly understand the relationship between a good party style and reform. It held that the party's discipline inspection work should help implement the policy of opening to the outside world, and enlivening domestic economy. We should support and protect what is conducive to reform, opening to the outside, and the development of production. We should resolutely stop, and sternly deal with, serious bureaucracy and the practice of taking advantage of one's power to seek private gain, particularly the unhealthy tendency of taking, in opening to the outside world and enlivening domestic economy, the opportunity to seek private gain by hook or by crook.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ARTICLE ON LOYALTY TO EMPEROR, LOVE OF COUNTRY

HK191329 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Yu Zhaopeng [0205 0340 7720]: "How Xie Fangde Handled the Relations Between 'Loyalty to Emperor' and 'Love of Country'"]

[Text] Xie Fangde (A.D. 1226-A.D. 1289), who was from Yiyang of Jiangxi Province, was a noted and noble-minded patriot of the Song Dynasty. He lived in a turbulent period of the decadent rule of the Southern Song Dynasty and the invasion by the Monggol aristocrats. He despised influential officials, and mercilessly exposed the dark rule of the Southern Song imperial court. He defended the motherland and spared no efforts to resist the bloodstained rule of the Monggol aristocrats. He loved the people, and was concerned about their life and weal and woe. Neither poverty nor lowly condition could make him swerve from principle. He resolutely refused the repeated efforts of the Yuan Dynasty to lure him into capitulation. In his whole life, he was filled with ardor and sincerity, and was fully confident of the future of his motherland and nationality. He was never subservient to the oppressors. After the overthrowing of the Song Dynasty, he still maintained his ambition and moral fortitude to carry out a hunger strike to fight against the rulers of the Yuan Dynasty. At last, he gave his life for the country. From the patriotic activities in his whole life, we know how he handled the relations between "loyalty to emperor" and "loving the country" in the feudal society.

The Relations Between Loyalty to the "Motherland" and Loyalty to the "Song Dynasty"

When Xie Fangde was young and middle aged, it was a period of national crisis for the Song Dynasty in which the Monggol aristocrats led their troops southward to carry out invasion. Xie Fangde was concerned about the destiny of the motherland, and wished that the Song Dynasty was a country characterized by upright administration and social stability. However, the reality was contrary to his wish. The feudal ruling clique of the Southern Song Dynasty headed by Emperor Lizong was dissipated and corrupt, and oppressed the people brutally. Xie Fangde hated very much those corrupt officials who brought calamity to the country. In 1256 when he took part in the highest imperial examinations, he mercilessly exposed the crimes of Dong Songchen, Ding Daquan, and their like. As a result, he was demoted by the imperial court to a second-grade successful candidate. He refused to yield to the influential officials and was unwilling to go along with them in their evil deeds. He eventually gave up scholarly honor and official rank, and returned to his native place.

In 1271, the Monggol changed the official title of its dynasty into Yuan, continued to invade the Song Dynasty, and attacked Xiang and Fan for a long time. In that year, Xie Fangde and his other 17 comrades gathered at Jinxiang temple of Qianshan to hold a memorial ceremony for Xin Qiji, praising his loyalty, virtue and patriotism. He and other participants of the meeting vowed: "Someone among us will become people with lofty ideals like Jiaxuan [another name of Xin Qiji], and we should never forget this gathering." ("Collected Works of Mr Xie Dieshan," vol 3) In 1274, the Yuan general Bo Yuan led the troops to carry out a large-scale attack on the Song Dynasty, and Jia Shidao fled without a fight. At this most critical moment of the country, Xie Fangde stood up again to organize a war of resistance in order to defeat Xinzhou. In 1276, he personally commanded his troops to fight against the Yuan army. Xie Fangde was eventually defeated because he was fighting in isolation without any reinforcements. In March of the same year, the Yuan troops occupied Linan, the capital of the Southern Song Dynasty. Emperor Song Gongzong, Empress Dowager Quan, and grandmother of the emperor Xie were captured, and were sent to the capital of the Yuan Dynasty, Yanjing. Xie, the grandmother of the emperor, sent an imperial decree from Yanjing ordering officials and subjects of Southern Song to surrender to the Yuan Dynasty. Xie Fangde refused to implement the decree, saying: "Officials serve the emperor in accordance with principle. Without such principle, officials should stop serving the emperor.... The cooperation between emperors and officials should be based on righteousness. Without such righteousness, the cooperation will diminish." ("Collected Works of Mr Xie Dieshan," vol 4) It was obvious that the loyalty of Xie Fangde to the emperor of Southern Song was not a blind loyalty without principle.

In Xie Fangde's eyes, there were connections and differences between the two concepts of "motherland" and the "Song Dynasty." When the emperor of the Song Dynasty could still represent the interests of the motherland and the nation, he should be loyal to the emperor. However, when the emperor of the Southern Song Dynasty had already surrendered to the enemy, and could no longer represent the interests of the motherland and the nation, he should no longer obey the orders of the emperor. It was obvious that the motherland which Xie Fangde loved was not the "Song Dynasty" in the narrow sense. After the emperor of the Southern Song Dynasty surrendered to the Yuan Dynasty, Xie Fangde continued to carry out the war of resistance in order to safeguard the motherland, and the stability of the entire society of the Southern Song Dynasty, rather than purely preserving the corrupted Song Dynasty.

#### The Forming of Patriotic Ideology

His concern for the people, and strong attachment to his native place and family members played a particularly important role in the forming and development of Xie Fangde's patriotic ideology. All this could also be regarded as the main source of his patriotic ideology. In particular, his concern for the people's livelihood was the kernel of his patriotic ideology. This made his patriotism far exceed the scope of merely resisting the Yuan Dynasty. It was precisely his concern for the people that made him bitterly hate the corrupt officials of the Song Dynasty, and strongly urge political reform. It was precisely his intention to deliver the people from misery that encouraged him to vigorously resist national oppression by the Monggol aristocrats, retain his moral integrity, and become a noted patriot.

Xie Fangde showed great concern for the livelihood of the people. He wrote a poem "Song of a Woman Who Raises Silkworms," which profoundly reflected the hard work of the laboring people, and exposed the dissipated and unashamed life of the feudal rulers. The poem said: "When I hear the cock crow at the last night watch, I get up in fear of the insufficiency of mulberry leaves. The waning moon is slipping down the gate tower, I do not believe that the noble lords have yet come back from their song and dance party." In the meantime, Xie Fangde also hoped that officials would become honest and upright, and cherish the people. In 1271, he wrote a poem entitled "Seeing Off Li Yuanji of Ban Cun to Take Up an Army Post in Wucheng." The poem said: "I hope you will not be so pliable as to be twisted around the finger. I hope you will not become iron lying idle in iron ore. Sweet rainwater will revive withered grass. Refreshing breezes will dry up the covetous spring." ("Collected Works of Mr Xie Dieshan," Vol 1)

During the reigns of the Song and Yuan Dynasties, Xie Fangde witnessed with his own eyes that under class and national oppression, people lived a poor and miserable life, and were very often massacred in cold blood. In his "Poem Dedicated to He Gmei Who Studies Medicine," he said: "Wars drag on over the past 20 autumns. People, who are rich or poor, knit their brows in despair. Among 1,000 persons, only 1 is fortunate enough to survive. Moan of pain rather than merry songs can be heard here and there." Therefore, he desired upright politics, and hoped that there would be "good medical men" who could do "good" and rescue people from misery. However, in those dark and chaotic years, all this was only an illusion. Just as he said: "I intend to rescue my poor people," but "nobody cares about my medical skill which can cure the sickness of the country." Therefore, Xie Fangde could only use his goodwill to protect the people who lived in misery.

When Xie Fangde lived in exile in Fujian after the failure of the struggle against the Yuan Dynasty, he still longed for his native land and family members. He closely linked his love for the country and home on the one hand, and his love for the people and his family members on the other. In his poem "Hearing a Cuckoo Call On a Spring Day," Xie Fangde wrote: "Everyday the cuckoo urges me to return home. Nobody knows how anxious I am to return home. I wish that God might ask me some day: When will you return home?" He wished that the motherland would be recovered some day and that he would return home to reunite with his mother. In his poem "Thinking of My Dear" written in 1282, he wrote: "Only few people in the world live to ninety. This depends on the mercy of God descended on man. When I return to my native land with silken robes, this is the time for me, a dutiful son, to look after my mother." However, Xie Fangde failed to attain his hope because of the development of the actual situation. His mother died before she saw the recovery of the motherland. His wife, daughter, and five brothers and nephews also died for the country one after another in the struggle against national oppression. Their remains could not be brought back home for burial. Xie Fangde said: "I am concerned with these matters day and night." ("Collected Works of Mr Xie Dieshan," vol 4) However, he was a person with high aspirations. What was uppermost in his mind was the life and death of the entire nation. Therefore, he said: "I know the rise and fall of our nation through the ages. The suffering of a family is of little account compared with this." ("Collected Works of Mr Xie Dieshan," vol 2) He turned anger into strength, and prepared to carry out the last struggle against the rulers of the Yuan Dynasty.



## Resolutely Resisting the Enemy and Giving His Life for the Country

From 1286 to 1288, to draw literati and officialdoms of the Han nationality to its side so that they could help its rule, the Yuan Dynasty sent Cheng Haiwen, Mang Wutai and Guan Rude one after another to summon Xie Fangde to surrender. Xie Fangde was living a miserable life, and suffering hunger and cold. He was even unable to properly bury his mother after her death. However, he resolutely refused to surrender. Later, Wei Tianyou, administrative officer of the Yuan Dynasty in Fujian Province, also summoned him to surrender. Once meeting Wei Tianyou, Xie Fangde scathingly denounced his crimes of bringing calamity to the people. He quotes Sima Qian's remarks "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Tai Shan or lighter than a feather" to express his firm determination not to surrender. In the winter of 1288, acting under orders of Emperor Yuan, Wei Tianyou forced Xie Fangde to travel north to Yanjing. On departure, although he was emaciated and shabbily dressed, and was wearing worn-out shoes, he was full of energy, and vehemently wrote poems for his relatives and friends. In his "To the Tune of Cao Donggu," he wrote "I always bear a heavy load on my shoulders. With my back as strong as iron, I face the high heavens. Fragrance and stink might last 1,000 years. But the glory and humiliation in this world will last not longer than 100 years." He also stressed in his poem that he would follow the example of Su Wu of the Western Han Dynasty to stick to national integrity. All this showed his national spirit of not being subdued by force or corrupted by riches and honor.

After Xie Fangde arrived in Yanjing, to threaten him, jailers of the Yuan Dynasty deliberately brought him to an execution groups where Wen Tianxiang was executed, saying: "This was the place where Prime Minister Wen was beheaded." However, this could not scare him. On the contrary, Wen Tianxiang's dauntless heroism of facing execution bravely provided him with inexhaustible power. He said: "In those years, he and I were fortunate enough to pass the highest imperial examinations held at Jiying Palace. Now, if I can travel with him to the netherworld, this is really fortunate!" ("The Chronicles of Loyal Officials: Xie Fangde") To show his firm determination of refusing to surrender, Xie Fangde carried out a hunger strike to fight against the rulers of the Yuan Dynasty. At that time, Liu Mengyan, a turncoat official of the Southern Song Dynasty, sent a medical man to bring him a pot of herb tea which contained rice. He broke the pot and scolded him severely. In early April 1289 he died for the country after carrying out hunger strike for 5 days. Xie Fangde's patriotic spirit of remaining faithful to his country could be summarized in the following two sentences which he assessed himself: "Sense of honor and uprightness cannot be bought by promise of gain. The valiant fighting spirit cannot be subdued by force." (Appendix to "Collected Works of Xie Dieshan," vol 16)

Xie Fangde's indomitable national integrity is worth praising. When a nationality was invaded and oppressed another nationality, the various social strata of this nationality naturally took the protection of the dynasty established by their own nationality as a banner of resisting national oppression. When the Monggol aristocrats sent their troops southward to carry out invasion and threaten the security of the people of various nationalities of the Southern Dynasty, it was absolutely just for Xie Fangde to stand up to defend the

motherland. His acts of opposing national suppression conformed with the interests of various nationalities. In particular, after the failure of the struggle, Xie Fangde still upheld the national indomitable spirit in spite of the fact that a number of the officials of the Southern Song Dynasty had surrendered to the Yuan Dynasty. In so doing, he truly performed a rare feat. Zhang Zihui, a disciple of Xie Fangde, wrote in his poem "Seeing Off Mr Dieshan Who Travelled North": "Many people bow low and humiliate themselves. It is only you who keep on marching and bitterly scolding the enemy." ("Collected Works of Xie Dieshan," vol 2) This distinctly demonstrated Xie Fangde's patriotic spirit.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PARTY POLICIES, STATE LAWS ANALYZED

Chongqing FAXUE JIKAN [JURISPRUDENCE QUARTERLY] in Chinese No 3, Jul 84  
pp 3-7

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061]: "Certain Questions Concerning the Relationship Between Party Policies and State Laws"]

[Text] Under the socialist system, the relationship between the party's policies and state laws is a very important issue both in theory and in practice. Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have accumulated both positive and negative experiences and lessons on this issue. Also, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have reached some important conclusions regarding the relationship between policies and laws through bringing order out of chaos both ideologically and theoretically and through conscientiously summing up experiences gained in practice over the past 30 and more years.

Conclusion 1: The laws of the state must be guided by the policies of the party; however, the policies of the party can only guide the laws in principle, not take the place of the laws.

In socialist countries, the Communist Party is the ruling party. Upholding the principle that the laws of the state must be guided by the policies of the party is a basic condition in guaranteeing that the laws of our country are in keeping with the interests of the people and do not deviate from the socialist track. It is also an important means of guaranteeing that the party exercise political leadership over the state. For this reason, using the party's policies to guide the enactment and implementation of the laws of our country is our firm and unshakable principle.

However, the policies of the party can only guide the laws in principle, not take the place of the laws. On the one hand, this is because compared with policy, the law has certain characteristics of its own and plays a role that is absolutely not replaceable by the party's policy. Generally speaking, the characteristics which a law represents include the will of the state, compulsory enforcement, the norm of conduct and relative stability. These characteristics have differentiated the laws from the policies of the party. The important social functions of the laws are also determined by these characteristics. If we equate the policies of the party with the laws

of the state in an oversimplified way and think that the policies of the party can take the place of the laws, it will undoubtedly result in legal nihilism so that in the nation's political, economic, cultural and social life, there will be neither laws nor regulations for us to follow, the workers in the organs of the state at all levels will be forced to resort to subjective will so that they will not be able to handle affairs in strict accordance with the objective laws, the words of the leaders will not be regarded as the law and the policy of running the state will not change simply because of a change of the leader's viewpoints. As a result, it will be impossible for the country to make stable progress.

Conclusion 2: Once a law is formed, it has a more extensive and stable application than that of the policies of the party both in scope and in time.

In our country, the law has a more extensive application compared with the policies of the party. Here there are two different implications. First, the policies of the party may be divided roughly into two parts: The first part includes policies for readjusting the various relationships of the party organizations themselves. For instance, there are policies concerning the organizational construction and the ideological construction of the party, policies concerning the enforcement of party discipline and so forth. These policies are applicable only within the party and their binding force is limited to party organizations at all levels and to all party members. Organizations outside of the party and individuals are not bound by these policies. The other part includes policies of the party concerning various aspects of the nation's political, economic, military, cultural as well as social life. State organs at all levels must accept these policies and regard them as guiding principles in carrying out various kinds of work. They must conscientiously and thoroughly implement these policies. Only the policies which belong to this part are applicable throughout the country. Second, even the policies which belong to the latter part may pass through the organs of state power and become policies of the state, or even some of them may be enacted into law, which can be done only through legal legislative procedures. Furthermore, the policies of the party usually are regulations and calls which to a certain extent are only principles. The law is different. It is rigorously standardized. It explicitly and concretely stipulates what the people should, can or cannot do. Therefore, it is easier for the workers in organs of the state and the masses of the citizens to observe strictly and to implement conscientiously. And it is still easier for the state organs, party organizations, social organizations and the masses of the people to exercise rigorous supervision over it. Therefore, it is definite that the laws of the state are more extensively applicable than are the policies of the party.

In our country, compared to the policies of the party, the duration of the application of the laws is more stable. This is because, first, not all policies of the party but only those policies which are regarded as relatively mature or considerably stabilized are to be enacted into laws. Second, the policies of the party will become increasingly perfected and stable in the course of their being enacted into laws. This is because

that the laws of the state are generally enacted on the basis of summing up practical experiences in implementing the policies of the party for which there is a better concentration of the wisdom of the masses. Therefore, in a word, the laws of the state are always more mature than are policies prior to their being shaped into laws.

In our country, the laws of the state also are relatively independent. The law has a characteristic of the will of the state which is the expression of the will of the ruling class. In our country, the socialist laws are the concentrated reflection of the interests and the will of the proletarian class and of the masses of the people but not the expression of the will of a certain individual or a certain group of the ruling class. In our country, all the power of the state belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the people's congresses at all levels. The views of the party and the ideas of the people can become laws or the will of the state only after being approved and decided by the National People's Congress and its standing committee. Once a law has been enacted, it can be amended only by the organs of state power. This is the relative independence of the law.

Conclusion 3: The party must operate within the limits of the constitution and the laws.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted at the 6th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee explicitly points out: "All party organizations at all levels as well as other social organizations must operate within the limits of the constitution and the laws." Comrade Hu Yaobang also stressed in the party's report to the 12th CPC National Congress that this is "a very important principle," and "from the party Central Committee to the grass-roots level, activities of all party organizations and party members must not contradict the constitution and the laws of the state." The 12th CPC National Congress solemnly put this principle into the new party constitution. This principle is an entirely new conclusion which the Chinese Communist Party obtained by summing up both the positive and negative experiences in the past 32 [as published] years since the founding of the People's Republic. This is also an extremely important guiding principle which our party is determined to adopt. Upholding this principle has a decisive meaning in correctly handling the relationships between the party and the state, between the party and the laws and between the policies and the laws.

Because the party Central Committee has adopted a correct guiding principle and because the jurists have conducted conscientious discussions, people have already reached a basic consensus on the understanding of the few questions mentioned above. However, with regard to the mutual relationship between the policies and the laws, people's understanding on some of the questions are not totally identical. Some of the questions have just been put forward which have not yet been put under intensive study. Other questions either have not yet been raised or have not been brought to people's attention. The following are my personal viewpoints on some of these questions:

1. When the party's policy is contradictory to state law, should we handle affairs according to the party's policy or to state law?

At first, we must ascertain that from the situation as a whole and from the question in its entirety, the policy of the party and the law of the state are totally identical and are unified to a high degree. Therefore, it is not possible to arouse serious contradictions in substance. From now on, along with the steady improvement in the legal system, the inconsistencies between certain stipulations of both the policies and the laws will become fewer and fewer. However, it is impossible to avoid totally the emergence of situations like this. This is because that policy and law are both integrated with and contradictory to each other. They move in the unity of opposites. They have reached the goal of unity and have enabled themselves to move constantly forward on the course of making continuous efforts to surmount contradictions. When inconsistencies appear between themselves, what should we do? People have three different kinds of answers. The first kind of opinion advocates that policies be followed. The second kind of opinion maintains that laws be obeyed. And the third kind of opinion holds that we proceed from actual conditions and make a concrete analysis of concrete questions. We can neither insist on implementing a law in a situation where the law has already shown obvious mistakes, nor must we insist on carrying out a policy in a situation where the policy has obvious mistakes and is contrary to the law. We must, under the premise of distinguishing right from wrong, try to find an appropriate settlement. The opinion of the latter kind looks very safe on the surface, but actually it has evaded the question. It is because that if you are not able to judge right and wrong between policy and law, how can you take any action? If you act in accordance with what you yourself think is right, it will inevitably impair the solemnity of the implementation of both the policy and the law. At the same time, a chaotic phenomenon in which each does things in his own way and does what he thinks is right will emerge. I think that in principle, when contradictions arise between policy and law, we must act in accordance with the law. As early as in 1949, the party Central Committee already pointed out: "Under the circumstances, when the people's laws have not yet been perfected, the principle for handling affairs by the judicial organs should be that whenever there are programs, laws, orders, statutes or decisions, we should follow the programs, laws, orders, statutes or decisions; whenever the programs, laws, orders, statutes or decisions are not available, the policy of the new democracy should be followed." This directive is very clear, which is to say that whenever there are laws, we will follow them. Only when there is no law for us to follow, we will follow the policies. The new party constitution approved by the 12th CPC National Congress also stipulates that "the party must operate within the limits of the constitution and the laws." This principle also clearly demands that the party not put into effect policies which are contradictory to the existing constitution and laws and that in case the existing policies of the party are contradictory to the existing laws of the state, the constitution and the laws should be followed. Why should we do things this way? The basic reason is that although the party is in the leading position in the political life of the state and the party's policies are taken as the guidance in formulating the laws of the state, the party, however, is a part of the state, is in the

state and does not place itself above the state. The law is an integration of the party's policy and the will of the people. The party's policy can be raised to the level of the will of the state and be enacted into law only by way of passing through the democratic procedure and being accepted by the organs of state power. Therefore, so far as the effectiveness of application is concerned, the laws of the state are, of course, superior to the policies of the party. Both policies and laws are not unalterable. They have to change along with the change that results from the development of the objective conditions and circumstances. Generally speaking, law is more stable than policy. If party organizations, on the basis of changes taking place in the objective circumstances and conditions, feel that it is necessary to alter a certain policy or to draw up new policies, they must recommend them to the organs of the state to amend or to abrogate the outmoded laws through legal procedures. If prior to the formal amendment of the law, party organizations put into effect, in ignoring the laws at will, new policies which are completely contradictory to the existing laws, or if the party is allowed to repudiate presumptuously the existing laws under the pretext that certain substances of these laws are no longer adaptable to new situations, it is bound to impair the authority and dignity of the law and thereby impair the prestige of the party. The party's policies and the laws of the state are carried forward in the movement of the contradictions of the unity of opposites. One of the important tasks of the party in leading the building of the legal system is to take measures on the basis of the law of development to maintain a constantly perfect harmony between the party's policies and the laws of the state. The way to resolve contradictions between the new policies and the outmoded laws relies mainly on the day-to-day legislative work so that the new policies of the party may promptly be reflected in the laws of the state. This is what we must accomplish and it is not difficult to accomplish. In real life, there have been cases in which certain contradictions have appeared between the existing policies and the existing laws and the leading organs failed to pay attention to them. Therefore, every cadre and the masses have the duty to report these situations to the party organizations and the organs of the state at all levels so as to resolve these contradictions in a timely and appropriate manner.

## 2. What are the links and distinctions between party and state policies?

Some comrades think that the two are totally the same and there is nothing different between them. This view is worth discussing. Our party is the ruling party. This leading position has been recognized and guaranteed by the constitution. The policies of the party are the basis of all kinds of activities of the state. In order to exercise the leadership of the party in our country, the party's policies in accordance with actual needs must, as a usual practice, be formulated or recognized as policies of the state by organs of the state. Therefore, the policies of the party and that of the state are closely linked with each other and are inseparable. Both in essence and in content they are identical. However, we must not totally equate the policies of the party with those of the state. Some of the policies of the party are policies for readjusting the various relationships within the party and have nothing to do with the policies of the state. The binding force of these policies is limited to party

organizations at all levels and to the masses of party members. The party's policies dealing with the various aspects of running the state's affairs including politics, the economy, culture, diplomacy and military affairs (this is the principal and fundamental part of the party's policies) can be transformed into state policies provided that they undergo certain formalities. The distinctions between the party's policies of this part and the policies of the state lie in the fact that the party's policies are formulated by the leading organs of the party, while those of the state are formulated by the organs of the state. The party's policies are expressed in the various kinds of documents of the party and in the policy statements of party leaders, while the policies of the state are expressed in the various kinds of documents of the organs of the state (for instance, the report on the work of the government, resolutions and so forth) and in the policy statements of the leaders of the state. The key question is that here it needs a process whereby the policies of the party go through a certain democratic procedure so that they can be accepted and adopted (including total acceptance, partial acceptance and certain supplements to them) by organs of the state and thereby be transformed into the policies of the state. Whether the procedure in this process is democratic or not is an important matter in determining whether the political life of a country is democratized. The procedure will be increasingly perfected along with the progress of the democratization of political life throughout the country. The party is the leading force of the country, but it is not an organ of power for issuing orders to the masses, nor is it an executive or a judicial organ. The party must not replace the organizations of the state in exercising the functions and powers of state organs. If we draw an equal sign in an oversimplified way between the party's policies and the policies of the state, it will definitely lead to the malpractices of "making no differences between the party and the government" and "letting the party take the place of the government."

3. How can we understand that the party's policy is the basis for formulating the law in a dialectical way?

Upholding the Communist Party's leadership is one of the four fundamental principles which must be insisted on in our country. It is also the core of the "four insists." The party's policy is one of the important means for the party in exercising its leadership over the state, which plays a guiding role in all kinds of activities in the organs of the state. Legislation also relies on the guidance of the party's policies. The party's policies serve as a basis for the formulation of laws, but this is said from a broad point of view. Here, it needs a concrete analysis. Both the policies of the party and those of the state are multilevel structural setups. The policies of the party are divided into general policies as well as specific policies and the policies of the state are also divided into the constitution and the specific laws. The general task and the general policy of our party in the new historical period of our country are to unite the peoples of all nationalities, to achieve the goal of self-reliance, to wage arduous struggles and to realize gradually the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology in order to build our country into a socialist country with a high level of



civilization and democracy. The specific policies of the party are those codes of conduct formulated by the party for the purpose of implementing the general policy in a certain aspect. It is determined by and is subordinate to the general policy. For instance, the party's economic policy, united front policy, policy on intellectuals, diplomatic policy, cultural policy, policy on the various nationalities, policy on overseas Chinese, military policy and so forth of the present stage are all specific policies compared with the general policy. However, these specific policies are again subdivided into many grades and levels. For instance, "to each according to his work" is a fundamental policy in the economic field. And the policy of issuing bonuses is but a specific policy which is subordinate to the fundamental policy of the principle "to each according to his work." The law is the same. It is divided into different grades and levels including the constitution, the basic laws, statutes, the administrative laws and regulations as well as the local laws and regulations. The formulation of the constitution must be on the basis of the general policy of the party and on the basic policies of the party in the economic, political, diplomatic and military fields. However, the formulation of some specific policies of the party concerning the various fields must, in turn, be on the basis of the constitution and of the basic laws. Speaking in this way, it is more comprehensive than simply saying that the party's policy is the basis for formulating the law. And it is more advantageous to implementing thoroughly the principle that "the party must operate within the limits of the constitution and the laws," to safeguarding the authority and dignity of the legal system and to maintaining a perfect harmony between the party's policies and the laws of the state.

4. So far as the mutual relationship between the party's policies and the laws of the state is concerned, which is the end and which is the means?

Both the party's policies and the laws of the state are the important components of the socialist superstructure and are built on the basis of the socialist economy. Their substances are, in the final analysis, decided by the socialist economic base. They, in turn, serve the socialist economic base side by side and actively help build up, consolidate and develop their own economic bases. In terms of the consolidation and development of the economic bases, the party's policies and the laws of the state are but a kind of instrument and means.

However, so far as the mutual relationships between the party's policies and the laws of the state are concerned, both are the means and the end of the other. On the one hand, the law is the substantiation, documentation, standardization and finalization of policy. It is both a means and an instrument for implementing the policy of the party. On the other hand, the party's policy not only serves to guide the formulation of the law but also guides its implementation. Therefore, the party's policy is also the means and instrument for putting the laws of the state into effect. At present, our teaching materials and articles in the science of law mention only that the law of the state is an instrument for implementing the policy of the party without mentioning that the party's policy is, at the same time, also an instrument for implementing the law of the state. This is

not comprehensive. This kind of one-sidedness has proved that we have not yet completely extricated ourselves from the "leftist" ideology of the past which ignored the law. This kind of mentality is harmful to the people's proper and exact understanding of the party and the state and of the standing of and the mutual relationship between the policies of the party and the laws of the state. This is also harmful to the socialist legal system.

5. How can we have an understanding of the fact that in the implementation of the law, it is also necessary to be guided by the policies of the party?

Some comrades take the fact that the party's policies have been reflected at the time when the laws are formulated as a reason to deny that in the implementation of the law, it is also necessary to be guided by the party's policy. This is not appropriate. Since the party's policy is the soul of state law, therefore only by getting to know the policies of the party, can we correctly and completely master the fundamental spirit and content of the laws so as to help us implement the laws in a still better way. At the same time, because law has a greater stability as compared with policy, therefore only when we can use the party's policy as a guide in implementing the law, can we be ensured of the correct implementation and application of the law in accordance with the needs of different times and different circumstances. Here, there are two different situations. The first kind of situation is that a certain limit of application is stipulated in the law. Within the limit of application, one's own discretion must be used in accordance with the spirit of the policy. For instance, in the detailed rules of the criminal law of our country, certain stipulations for measuring penalties for various kinds of criminal activities are provided. In view of the fact that, in recent years, the state of social order has been deteriorating and that the party has put forward the policy of severely cracking down on criminal activities and severely and summarily punishing those criminals who have been caught who are seriously harmful to the social order. This is absolutely necessary and correct. However, we also cannot disregard the stipulations of the law, nor can we handle affairs not in accordance with the criminal law and the Code of Criminal Procedure so as to alter the procedure of legal proceedings and to break through the scope for measuring penalties as we please. The other situation is that the stipulations in the law are relatively fixed. However, at the time of implementing and grasping the stipulations of the law, we may implement them by means of publicity and education in accordance with the spirit of the party's policies of a certain period of time. For instance, it is provided in the marriage law of our country that the marriageable ages of males and females are 22 and 20, respectively. However, the party on the other hand has put forward a policy calling for late marriages. The implementation of this policy can be realized only by the method of persuasion and education. In short, we must integrate the handling of affairs strictly according to law with a reliance on the party's policy as a guide. We cannot cut them apart nor think of them as conflicting with each other. We can neither negate the guiding role played by the party's policies in emphasizing that we must handle affairs in strict accordance with the law and thereby influence the correct implementation of the law, nor can we negate the handling of affairs in strict accordance with the law in emphasizing that the party's policy is the guide and thereby damage the authority and dignity of the constitution and the laws.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SEYPIDIN WRITES IN MEMORY OF XINJIANG MARTYRS

HK070913 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by Seypidin Aizezi [6357 4395 7844 5337 0463 1320]: "For a Bright Tomorrow--In Commemoration of the 35th Anniversary of the Death of Ahemaitijiang and Other Revolutionary Martyrs"]

[Text] Thirty-five years ago, that is, on 27 August 1949, the chief leaders of the Revolution of the Three Prefectures (this refers to the revolutionary movement launched against the KMT reactionaries by the Yili, Tacheng, and Aertai Prefectures in Xinjiang from 1944 to 1949) Comrades Ahemaitijiang Kasimi, Yisihakebaike Munuruofu, Abudukelimu Abasuofu, Daliliehan Suguerbayefu, and Luo Zhi died in an airplane crash in Baikal, Russia, while they were on their way to Beijing to attend the CPPCC on behalf of the Xinjiang people.

For the past 30 years or so, I have cherished with great esteem the outstanding deeds and achievements of these leaders, comrades-in-arms, and friends. Their heroic images, resolute and steadfast dispositions, and indomitable spirit of valiantly fighting for the interests of the people often rise before my eyes. Today, I have written this commemorative article in the same frame of mind.

On the afternoon of 3 September 1949, I went to the office earlier than usual because I had to go over an editorial to be published in Qianjin [advance]. At 1400, the military telephone in my office suddenly rang. This was a telephone for emergency use only. When I picked up the phone, I heard the voice of the duty officer: "Comrade Seypidin the Soviet Consulate has important news to tell you."

I put down the phone, passed the revised manuscripts to the editor waiting for me, and immediately contacted the Soviet Consulate. When my car passed through the noisy streets and entered the Soviet Consulate, one of the staff members was already waiting for me on the lawn inside the consulate gate. He politely led me to the parlor. I was surprised that the consul general, the deputy consul general, and a senior officer of the consulate were standing seriously in the center of the parlor. When I entered the parlor, they stepped forward to greet me, but there was no warm exchange pleasantries as usual. The consul general shook hands with me and asked me to be seated. Before I could open my mouth, he took a telegram message from his desk and

said sorrowfully: "We have received an urgent telegram from Moscow." Then he read the message in Russian: "Owing to the vile weather, the airliner carrying the delegation headed by Ahemaitijiang Kasimi crashed while it was crossing the Baikal Mountain via Irkutsk. All 17 passengers in the plane died in the accident."

The grievous news came like a bolt from the blue. At that moment, I could only faintly hear what they were talking about and vaguely distinguish their sorrowful expressions. I lost control and shouted: "This is impossible." Meanwhile, I snatched the message from the consul general's hands and read it quickly. Besides the 5 members of the delegation, the other passengers in the airliner included a secretary, an interpreter, and a staff member--Comrades Aini, Abudu Rexit, and Wusimanjiang--3 escorting officers sent by Moscow, and 6 crew members, altogether 17 persons.

I hastily left the consulate and immediately went to Comrade Deng Lique's residence by car to inform him of the sad news. Comrade Lique was violently shocked at the sudden news. He was stupefied by what had happened and his face turned pale. Tears sprang from his eyes and he seemed to be talking to himself: "Unfortunate news. It is really unfortunate news."

Reason finally restrained grief. I discussed the matter with Comrade Lique and decided that he immediately send a cable to inform the central authorities about the news and wait for instructions. Meanwhile, we also decided to temporarily keep the news of Comrade Ahemaitijiang's and the others' deaths absolutely secret. Outside of Comrade Aisihaiti, Saipulayefu, and Nabijiang, this news must not be leaked to anyone else. This was because the situation in Yili at the time demanded that we act thus. At that time, the people thought that Comrade Ahemaitijiang and the others were on inspection tour of Aertai.

We received a cable from the central authorities in the evening. The central authorities expressed profound condolences on the deaths of Ahemaitijiang and the other comrades and ordered us to immediately form a new three-member delegation and leave for Beijing as quickly as possible. In light of the instructions of the central authorities and the discussions with Comrade Lique and other leading comrades concerned, a three-member delegation including Tuzhi and Alimujiang, with myself as head, was formed.

Even the busy preparatory work for leaving could not prevent me from recalling and cherishing the memory of Ahemaitijiang and the other comrades. On 18 August, a few weeks before, I and my family had been spending the summer holidays in the Kekeshala summer resort in Guozigou. One day, Comrade Saipulayefu came to my residence with Comrade Ahemaitijiang's hand-written message asking me to return to Yining to discuss an important matter. I made arrangements for my family members and returned to Yining that very day with Saipulayefu. It was already toward evening when we arrived at Yining. We went straight to Comrade Ahemaitijiang's home. Abasuofu, Yisihakebaike, Rehemujiang, and others were there waiting for us.

Following the exchange of conventional greetings, Ahemaitijiang gladly said: "You have come at the right time. I have a piece of good news for you: Comrade

Deng Liqun, the liaison officer sent by the CPC Central Committee, has arrived at Yining. Dawn is approaching and the light of day will soon illuminate the entire Tianshan." When Comrade Ahemaitijiang sonorously and forcefully made these remarks, he was serious and in high spirits. Then Abasuofu said excitedly: "We have won victory in the Chinese revolution led by Comrade Mao Zedong and Zhu De. The goal of liberation and prosperity we have been fighting for will soon be realized." Unable to hold back my excitement, I exclaimed with joy: "It is really amazingly good news. The time for the Chinese and Xinjiang people to realize their grand ideals is not far off."

"Please have a look at this letter," Comrade Ahemaitijiang handed me a letter and continued: "Just see how Comrade Mao Zedong has appraised our revolution." I accepted the letter with both hands and anxiously started reading it.

The full text of Comrade Mao Zedong's letter was as follows:

"Dear Mr Ahemaitijiang of the People's Government of Yining Special Prefecture, Xinjiang:

The Chinese people's liberation war against imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and the KMT reactionaries headed by Chiang Kai-shek will soon win nationwide victory. After careful preparations, the new CPPCC which includes various democratic parties and people's organizations in China, all field armies of the PLA, various liberated areas, all the minority nationalities in China, and the Chinese nationals residing abroad, will hold its plenary session very soon in September. Besides enacting the organizational law of the CPPCC and electing its national committee, the current plenary session will also enact the organizational law of the PRC Central People's Government and elect the committee of the central people's government. Your efforts made over many years in the past are a component part of the Chinese people's democratic revolution. With the victorious development of the people's liberation war in the northwest, the day for the complete liberation of Xinjiang is not far off. Your efforts will eventually lead to success. We heartily hope that you can send five delegates to attend the KPCC plenary session. If you have no objection, please try to be in Beijing by early September. I have telegraphed you this letter and I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Mao Zedong, chairman of the new CPPCC Preparatory Committee, Beijing, 18 August 1949."

Comrade Ahemaitijiang then read out a letter to Comrade Mao Zedong written under his name.

The letter said: "Dear Mr Mao Zedong, chairman of the CPPCC Preparatory Committee:

I have received your letter. The topics mentioned in your letter are matters the people throughout our province have longer for.

We hold that the great victories won by the PLA are great victories for the people of our province and the world.

We are infinitely grateful for the topics raised in your letter and we would like to inform you that we are willing to send our delegates to Beijing.

With best regards, Yours sincerely, Ahemaitijiang Kasimi, people's representative of the special prefecture, 20 August 1949."

I expressed my earnest support for Comrade Ahemaitijiang's letter. Late that night, at 2200, I went to Yisihakebaike's residence in the company of Comrade Abasuofu to pay a visit to Comrade Liqun. This was a secret residence. Bringing with them a high-power transceiver, Comrade Liqun and four radio operators arrived in Yining via Moscow on 7 August. When we entered Comrade Liqun's bedroom, he was studying some materials. Comrade Abasuofu introduced us and we enthusiastically shook hands with each other. Comrade Liqun had a natural and unrestrained manner and a straightforward disposition, so we felt like old friends from the first meeting. Comrade Liqun briefly explained his mission. Then I told him about my excited feelings after reading Comrade Mao Zedong's letter and also warmly thanked him for bringing the significant glad tidings. Our talks lasted for nearly an hour. During these short talks, he left a deep impression on me.

After sending the telegram in reply to Comrade Mao Zedong, we immediately discussed and decided the persons to be selected as delegates and engaged ourselves in the preparation work for departure.

At 1900 on 22 August 1949, with passionate expectations and feelings of victory, the members of the delegation boarded some cars and started the journey in thick darkness.

At that time, I little thought that after a few days I would have to follow in their tracks, continue the journey, and accomplish the task which they had not finished.

We arrived at Yining airport at 0615 on 8 September 1949. Before we boarded the airplane, the Soviet Consul General introduced to me a middle-aged Russian. His surname was "Lie Suo Fu" [0441 4792 1133]. He had arrived the day before from Moscow on a special trip to accompany us to Beijing.

The airplane engine started and only five or six persons were at the airport to see us off. Although our trip was an extraordinary and long one, we could not have more people to see us off, because we still had to keep it secret. As the engine droned on and the airplane flew smoothly through the air, I was lost in thoughts of past events.

The revolution of the three prefectures was an armed struggle waged by the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang against the KMT reactionaries. However, during the early period of the revolution, people of all descriptions flocked to join in, so inevitably the waters were muddied and the bad became mixed with the good. Some people of the reactionary and feudal upper strata seized part of the leading power, flaunted the so-called banner of the East Turkishtan Islamic Republic, advocated Pan-Islamism, and advertised great Turkism, which at one time almost brought the revolution to a premature end.

The outstanding contributions made by Comrades Ahemaitijiang, Yisihakebaike, Abasuofu, and Daliliehan lay in the fact that they courageously dispelled the reactionary spheres of influence, sternly lashed out at the reactionary tendency, upheld national territorial integrity, and led the revolution to embark on the correct path. Comrades Ahemaitijiang and Abasuofu made remarkable achievements particularly in correcting the mistakes in the nationality problem.

Under the name A Yilileke, Comrade Ahemaitijiang issued a series of articles and speeches sternly refuting the absurd fallacies on the nationality problem spread by the feudal upper strata. He said: Our revolution should never be against the people of the Han nationality, but should resolutely be against the KMT reactionaries.

The KMT portrayed the revolution of the three prefectures as a breakaway movement trying to split the three prefectures from China. Comrade Ahemaitijiang presented his views vehemently before Mr Zhang Zhizhong and so sharply denounced the fallacy that even Mr Zhang Zhizhong was moved. Comrade Ahemaitijiang said: "Xinjiang is a component part of China; the three prefectures are the component parts of Xinjiang; and Yili is a component part of the three prefectures. Yili is the place where I was born and where my ancestors are buried. China is my motherland and hometown. What we want is liberation, freedom, and equality."

I was utterly lost in thought. Abasuofu's valiant resoluteness and steadfastness and his vigorous image once again appeared before my eyes. My train of thought suddenly traced back to 1937. It was the year I returned from the Soviet Union after studying there. After we entered China from Tacheng, the local government prepared a horse-drawn carriage to send the group of returned students to Urumqi (which was called Dihua at that time). A few days later, when we were cooking food in a forest near Anjihai one afternoon, a number of students who were on their way from Urumqi to Yining for vacation also stopped over there to take a rest. A thin young man from among them asked my colleagues which was Seypidin. I did not know who he was, so I introduced myself to him: "I am Seypidin." The young man gladly embraced me and told me: My name is Abasi Abudukeli. I suddenly remembered that he was one of my relatives.

After we exchanged a few words of greeting, he asked me what books I brought back from the Soviet Union and whether I could give him some. I asked him: "What kind of books do you need?" He replied without hesitation: "Books on revolution, philosophy, and the proletariat." I gave him some theoretical books. He carried the books in both hands as if he had found a treasure.

This was my first meeting with Abasuofu.

Abasuofu was the youngest among the revolutionary leaders in the three prefectures. His knowledge, resoluteness and steadfastness, political awareness, and maturity far exceeded his age limit. He directly led the armed uprising and was one of the first leaders of the revolution of the three prefectures. The most outstanding contribution made by Abasuofu was that he enthusiastically propagated the CPC to the people and the broad ranks of intellectuals. He

personally translated many of Comrade Mao Zedong's works into the Uyghur language, which played a significant role in disseminating information on the CPC and Mao Zedong Thought among the minority nationalities in Xinjiang.

In 1948, the collapse of the KMT reactionaries was already a foregone conclusion. The question on the future of Xinjiang and the revolution of the three prefectures increasingly became the focus of talk among some intellectuals in the three prefectures. At this moment, the dregs of society emerged time and again to confuse and poison the people's mind and a reactionary tendency spread insidiously. In early 1949, with the approval of Comrade Ahemaitijiang, Comrade Abasuofu presided over a forum (actually a debate) held in Yili Ahemaitijiang Institute and attended by around 200 people. Through heated arguments, the correct views of a large number of progressive comrades headed by Abasuofu finally won an advantage. On the last day of the forum, I gave a speech and Comrade Abasuofu delivered a long summarization speech. He sternly refuted all sorts of erroneous views and clearly pointed out: "Xinjiang must be a component part of new China under the leadership of the CPC. The question of Xinjiang can and only be solved in this way." Confronting the cardinal issues of right and wrong at this critical moment, Abasuofu safeguarded the unification of the country and unity of various nationalities with a resolute and clear-cut stand and made an indelible contribution.

Yisihakebaike's tall and sturdy image and with the natural and unrestrained manner of a soldier flashed before my eyes. He was a comrade of the Kirgiz nationality and a native of Wuqia County, Xinjiang. Following the establishment of the nationality army of the three prefectures, he was appointed as commander-in-chief of the nationality army. He made significant contributions to the building and growth of the nationality army.

Daliliehan was a comrade of the Kazak nationality from Aertai. He took part in the armed struggle against Sheng Shicai in his early years. Thanks to his courageousness in fighting and his capability in command, he became commander of a guerrilla detachment. Later, he led the guerrilla detachment in fighting against the KMT reactionaries in the Jibunai area. After the outbreak of the revolution of the three prefectures, he resolutely led the guerrillas in joining the revolution of the three prefectures and was appointed deputy commander-in-chief of the nationality army.

Luo Zhi was a comrade of the Han nationality and one of the key members of the "combat group." He was a good comrade who was loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the CPC and who worked selflessly with the spirit of dedicating himself to the liberation cause of the Chinese people. With its stronghold established in Urumqi, the "combat group" actively coordinated the revolution of the three prefectures. Luo Zhi played an active role in both the open and secret struggles against the KMT reactionaries.

Meanwhile, on the airplane, the beginning of our descent interrupted my recollection of past events. The airplane landed at a military airport near Irkutsk.

We took off again at dawn the second day. The airplane flew southward from one side of Irkutsk. As it was just daybreak, the earth was not yet awake,



stars spread over the sky, and there was a sprinkling of lights on the earth. After flying from some distance, we were above Lake Baikal. We flew across the dark lake at a height of 3,000 meters. The airplane continued to fly higher to cross the Baikal Range. When the airplane ascended to a height of 4,000 meters, we could see forests and mountains stretching away beneath us. At this moment, Lie Suo Fu took me to the cockpit. He pointed at one of the mountain valleys and said: "This is where the accident took place." Then he gave me a telescope. When I looked out through the telescope, I saw the charred trees in a small area within the mountain valley, just like some ink marks on a piece of green carpet. Lie Suo Fu was also watching through a telescope. Suddenly, he said quite nervously: "Please take note of those black spots." In fact, I was already aware of the scattered black spots, but could not tell whether they were corpses or charred tree trunks. The captain You Lai Bo Fu [1429 0171 3134 1133] told me: "Those black spots are possibly the corpses and the further ones are probably the wreckage of the airplane." I could not bear looking at the scene any longer. I left the cockpit in a thoughtful manner and took a seat by the window.

On the third day, we took a train and continued our trip southward. When we arrived at one of China's border cities Manzhouli, we were greeted by the comrades who came specially from Beijing.

Comrade Zhou Enlai met us on the second day after our arrival in Beijing. On the third day, Comrade Mao Zedong met us at his office in Zhongnanhai. Besides Chairman Mao, Comrades Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, and Zhou Enlai were also present on that occasion. When we entered the parlor, they all stood in silence to mourn the deaths. After paying respects to the martyrs, Chairman Mao said: "The unfortunate death of all the members of the Xinjiang delegation headed by Ahemaitijiang is not only a great loss to the people of Xinjiang but also to the people of the whole country. Their spirit will live forever." I was deeply moved and comforted by the profound condolences expressed from the martyrs by the highest leaders of the CPC headed by Chairman Mao, and particularly moved by Chairman Mao's high appraisal of the martyrs.

When we were about to leave Beijing after attending the CPPCC, Chairman Mao wrote an inscription on a tablet for the martyrs.

In early 1950, when I accompanied Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai on a visit to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government notified us that the corpses of the martyrs had been moved out of the mountains and properly arranged. Comrade Mao Zedong immediately instructed us: "Carry the corpses to Xinjiang. We should bury them in Xinjiang, build a tomb for them, and let the Xinjiang people forever remember the heroes who have died for them!"

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, we carried the martyrs' corpses back to Xinjiang, buried them in Yinying People's Park, built a tomb for them, and erected a monument with Chairman Mao's inscription. The inscription read: "The spirit of Comrades Ahemaitijiang Kasimi, Yisihakebaike Munuruofu, Abudukelimu Abasuofu, Daliliehan Suguerbayefu, and Luo Zhi who sacrificed their lives for national liberation and the people's democratic cause will live forever! Mao Zedong, 22 October 1949."

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HONG KONG SYMPOSIUM ON PRC INVESTMENT EXTENDED

HK200819 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 20 Sep 84

[Text] The Work Committee for the Symposium On Investment In China's Open Cities yesterday held a press conference in Hong Kong.

At the conference, the delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade gave an introduction to the preparatory work China's interior has done for the symposium and put forth 207 projects to be developed in open cities, including Guangzhou. The projects cover a wide range of fields, including mechanical industry, electronics industry, chemical industry, light industry, textiles, metallurgical industry, construction material, agriculture, and service industry. Among them, there are large as well as medium and small projects. New projects account for [words indistinct] and the projects for renovating existing old enterprises account for two-thirds.

At the press conference, the secretary of the Work Committee for the Symposium On Investment In China's Open Cities said: Since the spreading of the news that China's open cities would hold an investment symposium in Hong Kong, Industrial, commercial, and financial circles of Hong Kong, Macao, and other parts of the world have paid much attention to the matter and have sent one cable after another to make inquiries and to request to attend the symposium. In view of the developments in the situation and to meet the desires of foreign businessmen, we have decided to extend the symposium for 5 days; that is, the symposium will begin on 6 November and end on 14 November.

CSO: 4005/015

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SYMPOSIUM ON HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM HELD

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 3 Jul 84 p 1

[Excerpt of opening speech by Zhang Chengxian [1728 2110 0341] at the first national scholastic seminar of the China Institute of Education]

[Text] Since 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a series of comments on educational work, having profoundly explained the strategic position and basic functions of education in socialist modernization and construction, and having precisely and uniquely explained the guidelines of the party, especially the means of coordinating the ideas of education and production labor in the new historical period, which is a new development. It should be said that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's comments of that time have made important ideological and theoretical preparations for the affirmation at the 12th CPC Congress of education as the strategic focal point of developing the national economy. In September 1983, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also suggested "education should be directed towards modernization, to the world and to the future". The "three directions" points out the strategic direction of educational work in the new historical period, and is the general guide of future educational reform.

The "three directions" suggested by Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a unified entity that is based on facing modernization. This is our starting point and standing point. Under new historical conditions, we must go a step further in carrying out thoroughly international open door policy, widen cultural exchanges with foreign countries, absorb the advanced scientific and technical achievements and beneficial knowledge from other countries, and make the contributions that we should make in international intercourse. The cycle of educational work is rather long, we should make preparations on the talents needed for the economic vitalization of the 1990's and for an even bigger development during the early stage of the 21st century.

The "three directions" brings out a higher requirement on educational work. Under the new historical conditions, the new generation of talents whom we cultivate must be of higher quality. They should possess higher scientific cultural level, able to accept the challenge of the world's new technical revolution; they should also have higher ideological cognizance, good at starting from China's realities, determined in making

the reform, do a good job in two civilizational construction, make healthy socialist democracy and legal system, and construct the socialist with Chinese characteristics. Under the policy of going a step forward in realizing international open-door policy, the corrupt ideologies and ways of life of capitalism will inevitably take advantage of the situation to poison us. We should improve the ideological political work in schools so that youngsters will be able to stand the test of new complicated environments, resist the spiritual pollution from various channels, insist on socialist directions, and possess the moral characters of communism.

According to the requirements of the "three directions", the education in our country must undergo reform in order to accomplish the new historical mission. Many countries in the world are exploring the problems related to educational reform, in order to meet the challenge of new technical revolution. The educational reform in our country should sum up our own historical experiences, should pay attention to studying new situations, resolve new problems, good in drawing from the desirable experiences of other countries, start from China's realities, meet the need of our country's economic and socialist development, and build a socialist educational system with Chinese characteristics.

Using the "three directions" as a guide to explore the ordinary educational reform is the question that urgently needs a solution in our country's modernization construction. The aim of reform is to speedily create better talents.

The current salient problem requiring solution in the reform of ordinary education is to rectify the guiding ideologies in running schools, and to speed up the adjustment and reform in educational system. Two issues should be emphasized here: one is that middle school education should carry out the "double tasks" of sending qualified students to schools of higher grade, and the more important one is the cultivation of good labor reserves; the unilateral tendency of going after higher proportion of students entering schools of higher quality must be substantially rectified. The other issue is that ordinary education and professional technical education should be simultaneously carried out during the middle school stage. Professional technical education must meet the various needs of economic construction and social development, and cultivate various kinds of talents of various specialities. During recent years, there appears in the middle school education of some countries the common trend of reciprocal coordination and penetration of ordinary education and professional technical education to develop along a comprehensive unified direction. This trends needs our attention. We must bring the energetic development of professional technical education into the important meeting agenda of educational components of various levels and of all the related components.

To carry out thoroughly the "three directions" and grasp the reform of ordinary education, we should also positively carry out teaching reform to lighten the burden on the students and heighten the quality of education. To meet the need of new technical revolution, we need new

teaching materials acceptable to middle and primary school students to timely reflect the new scientific and technical achievements in the teaching materials of middle and primary schools. At the same time, we should pay attention to innovate the principles and the ways of teaching in order to place into important positions the development of students' wisdom and cultivate students' ability to self-study and create. At this point we should specially emphasize the overall carrying out of educational guidance to benefit all the students. Due to the current unilateral going after higher proportion of students entering schools of higher quality, the burden on the students is too heavy, the full development of their wisdom is suppressed, and the thorough carrying out of overall development in moral, wisdom and physical education is impeded. This is an overall and important problem in middle and primary schools, and is a salient fallacy that cannot be allowed to spread and do harm. "Few, concise and flexibility" should be a guiding principle in teaching reform.

The important premise of thoroughly carrying out the "three directions" and of grasping well the reform of ordinary education is the elevation of the level of school teachers and improve the conditions of running schools. This involves the reform of the current educational management system. Starting from China's realities, the central authority suggests the guidance of "walking on two legs" to carry out multi-level, multi-specification and multi-mode running of schools. Aside from schools run by the state, the positivism of running schools by localities, components, factory and mine enterprises, commune battalions and individuals should be mobilized. At present, there exists in the management system no clear-cut border lines between jobs and responsibilities to have all eat from the same big pot. The reform on our country's rural management system starts early. The development of rural economy urgently requires working on education, the peasants' enthusiasm in collecting capital for running schools is getting higher day by day. During the reform of rural educational management system, the problem needing to be solved is how to fully mobilize the two enthusiasms for an early well done job in education: one is to mobilize the enthusiasm of localities and individuals in collecting capital for running schools, for establishing a steady and reliable financial source and improving the conditions of running schools; the other is to elevate the social status and material remuneration of middle and primary school teachers. Teaching leadership should not be weakened. Qualified people should be chosen to be school principals, favorable conditions should be created to realize a school principal responsibility system, the thorough carrying out of the guiding principles on education should be assured, the compliance with educational guidance in running schools should be assured, and the quality of education should be unceasingly elevated. The thorough carrying out of the "three directions" and of reform in education is a difficult task involving extensive areas and many problems. It may be called a systematic engineering work. The work must start from the realities, and then carried out step by step and level by level to suit individual localities and individual schools. No work should be abruptly done. Experiments must be done first in important reforms.

In education, we cannot talk of education alone, and should channel education into the whole national economy and social development planning, for carrying out comprehensive studies on the relations between education and economy, and between education and science and technology. It may be said that the "three directions" spurs us educational workers to get out from the narrow arena of schools, to have our ideas broadened, our vision widened, and our thoughts have greater depth. These are the requisite premises in opening up a new prospect in educational work. The materialization of the "three directions" will certainly accelerate the overall coordination of the reform in educational system, labor system, personnel system and salary system, enabling our country's educational enterprise to render new and greater contribution to China's vitalization.

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CSO: 4005/828

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINA'S EDUCATIONAL REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 28 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Shi Feng [4258 2800]: "Seminar on Management Reform in Schools of Higher Learning Held in Shanghai"]

[Text] During the seminar on the management reform in schools of higher learning that adjourned today, Education Minister He DongChang [0149 2639 2490] commented that management reform is an important link in the overall reform of schools of higher learning, schools with healthy or basically healthy leadership groups should positively decide on their own size and number of staff officers, carry out job responsible system, and explore the reform in the school management and management mechanism; the reform should suit individual schools, to be carried out substantially step by step, and should not be abruptly done. Schools having completed the basic work in the above-mentioned management reform and possessing definite financial asset, upon acceptance and approval by their governing components, may trial carry out job subsidy system, or reform the bonus distribution system, for the sake of conquering equalitarianism in distribution, and mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of school teachers and staffs.

He Dongchang also commented that the improvement in material remuneration of the teachers and the cadres in schools of higher learning mainly relies on state reform of the salary system for its solution. For studying the formulation of a new salary system, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labor and Personnel considered assigning different types of schools of higher learning in using their own financial resources, to be the experiment points for the state in carrying out reform in the salary system. Those schools that accept the assignment should be the ones having strong leadership, comparatively affluent financial income, and are able to complete within a timeframe of approximately one-half year the various basic work of management reform.

The seminar preliminarily decided to experiment the reform of the salary system in Beijing University, Qinghua University, Fudan University and three other schools and to defer decision on other schools until after making further studies.

The seminar on management reform for schools of higher learning was summoned by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labor and Personnel. He Dongchang and Kang Yonghe [1660 3157 0735] separately made reports on the reform of higher education, of the labor system, personnel system and salary system. Huang Xinpai [7806 6580 4101] transmitted the guidance of the central leadership comrades on educational reform. The presidents or the party committee secretaries of Shanghai Jiaotong University, Beijing Industrial University, Shanghai City Bureau of Higher Education, Qinghua University, Chinese University of Science and Technology, Central China Institute of Technology and Fudan University reported on the status of their reform having been experimented for a few years, their experiences and the problems encountered. Participated in the seminar were the presidents or the party committee secretaries of 22 schools of higher learning and the responsible persons of the educational and personnel components of Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Liaoning, and Sichuan.

The seminar unanimously affirmed that the aim of educational reform in schools of higher learning is to produce talents and results. This is the biggest contribution schools of higher learning can make to the state, and is the main criterion for examining if the reform is successful. Certain schools have created some economic income in their educational and scientific and technical activities, but the income should only be considered as by-product and not the goal. The various macroscopic and microscopic reforms should not depart from this principle. After studying the guiding thought and discussing the eight-point opinions drafted by the Ministry of Education, the seminar studied and discussed the relationship of the principle, the substance of school management reform, assessment of mental labor work and management reform, with party rectification and with class teaching and scientific and technical research work, and the means of carrying out the system of school principals bearing the responsibilities.

Also participated in the seminar were the concerned responsible persons of the party Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and Department of Organization, and the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and the Academia Sinica. Liu Zijiu [0491 1311 0046], advisor of the Ministry of Labor and Personnel, and Yang Kai [2799 1956], advisor of Shanghai people's municipal government, spoke at the seminar.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO REVIEWS EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS

HK131558 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Sep 84 p 1

["Facts and Figures" column based on materials provided by the Ministry of Education: "Hundreds of Flowers in Full Bloom in the Education Park"]

[Text] After some 30 years of effort, there have been great developments in China's educational undertakings at various levels and of various types. The number of institutions of higher learning throughout the country increased from 205 in 1949 to 805 in 1983, and the number of students increased from 117,000 to 1,207,000, an increase of 900 percent and more. In 1983, there were 680 units undertaking the training of research students, and the number of research students amounted to 37,137. China formally established the academic degree system in 1981, and up to 1983, 29 persons had been awarded the doctor's degree and 18,143 persons the master's degree. A higher educational system with comparatively complete administrative levels, courses, and specialties has been formed.

In 1983, there were 3,090 secondary technical schools throughout the country, and 1,143,300 students were studying in these schools, a fourfold increase over 1949. In these schools, there were 861 secondary teachers and 454,900 students were enrolled.

In 1983, there were 96,500 ordinary middle schools in the country, with an enrollment of 43,977,300 students, 42.3 times the number of ordinary middle school students in 1949. There were 862,200 primary schools, with an enrollment of 135,780,000 pupils, a 460 percent increase over 1949. The percentage of school-age children in school rose from 25 percent in 1949 to 94 percent. In 1,195 administrative units at the county level in 14 provinces and municipalities directly under the central government, the percentage of school-age children in school reached 95 percent or over. There were 136,300 kindergartens, with an enrollment of 11,402,500 children; and 319 schools for the deaf and/or mute with an enrollment of 35,700 pupils.

In 1983, there were 1,196 institutions of higher learning for adults, of which 29 were broadcast and television universities, 841 were staff and workers universities, 4 were peasants universities, 304 were pedagogic colleges and teacher-training colleges, 3 were correspondence colleges, and 15 were cadre management colleges. There were 1,128,400 students studying in these institutions. There were 96,599 secondary schools for adults, with an enrollment

of 9,747,500 students. There were 219,049 primary schools for adults, with an enrollment of 8,172,400 students, of whom 2,884,900 were in elementary classes and 5,287,500 were in literacy classes.

Over the past 35 years, new China has trained 4,110,200 university graduates, 19.5 times the total number of university graduates trained in the 36 years (from 1912 to 1947) of old China. In addition, it has trained 41,803 research graduates and sent some 30,000 students to study abroad and 7,224,000 students have graduated from various types of secondary technical schools. With the number of graduates from higher-learning institutions for adults and from secondary technical schools for adults, over the past 35 years the educational front has provided 16 million high-and intermediate-level talented persons for departments and units in various fields.

From 1978, the year the state promulgated the resumption of the implementation of the system of awarding inventors, to 1983, 170 awards for inventions were issued to higher-learning institutions, 26.5 percent of the 642 awards for inventions approved by the state. Of the 122 natural science awards given by the State Science and Technology Commission in 1982, 56 awards, that is, 46 percent of the total, were won by higher-learning institutions (including other units in cooperation with these institutions).

CSO: 4005/015

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MODERNIZATION, EDUCATIONAL GOALS OUTLINED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO [CHINA EDUCATION JOURNAL] in Chinese 31 Jul 84 p 2

[Address by Peng Pei-Yun [1756 3805 0061], vice minister of education:  
"Resolutely Implement CPC's Policy for Education; Train a Well-Rounded New  
Generation " 26 July 1984]

[Text] It is a big event for the Chinese Young Pioneers to convene a representatives conference of its members and instructors during the 35th anniversary of the founding of the organization. This grand meeting has fully embodied the concern and expectation of the party and state for youth and those who work with youth. I represent the Ministry of Education in giving my warm congratulations to all the representatives and members of the Young Pioneers, and also my sincere thanks to the instructors who work hard for the care and training of the next generation.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's proposal that "education must face in the directions of modernization, the world and the future" indicates the directions of educational work in the new historical era. At the end of this century and the next, the children and teenagers of today will be the main force of the socialist modernization of construction. Deng Yingchao [6772 4481 6389] also indicated that the glorious future of our country belongs to them and the future needs them to build. The responsibilities of the middle schools and the primary schools must take the "three directions" as the guiding ideology to educate the youngsters to become a new generation with ideals, morals, culture, discipline and good health; it is also expected that they will grow up with a pioneering spirit, be able to stand trials and hardships, bear heavy responsibilities and fight bravely for constructing a socialism with Chinese characteristics.

To establish a good foundation of morality, intelligence and physical culture during one's childhood and teenage years will influence the growth of one's life greatly. It is necessary to lay the foundation of culture and scientific knowledge at an early age in order to master the construction of our socialist country and to meet the challenge of the world's technological restructuring. However, as far as the youngsters themselves are concerned, it is even more important to train them during childhood to have a communist ideology and morality, good behavior and strong physiques. As for learning culture and scientific knowledge, it is required that they

not only learn fundamental knowledge in the text but also pay special attention to developing and training the students' intelligence and ability; thus a new generation with revolutionary ideals and the practical capability to create a glorious future China can be cultivated.

In order to realize the above-mentioned goal of training, the educational workers must implement overall the party's education policy, take a correct attitude toward the guiding ideology of running a school and correct the tendency to look after only the students advancing to a higher school. Last July, the National General Educational Workers Conference convened by the Ministry of Education had stressed this problem and proposed some measures. Since then, many schools have enthusiastically tried to reform the systems, plans, contents and methods of teaching, and encouraging results have been achieved. I ought to praise the educational workers for their enthusiasm and courage and their hard work in education reform. The educational reform experiments have shown that some can reach conclusions in a short time while some need a longer period to try it out. That different opinions have emerged in the process of exploration is normal. We hope the educational departments in all China will strengthen their leadership effectively and carry out various kinds of reform experiments in a planned way in order to promote the educational reform in developing normally and without stop.

We should indicate that the party and our government have repeatedly demanded the correction of the tendency to pursue the students advancing to higher school, and while some schools have worked hard to implement this demand effectively, up to now this tendency has not been rectified; in some places, it is still even developing. On 8 May this year, in CHINA EDUCATION JOURNAL [ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO], a letter from a student's parents with the subject "Can a Primary School Be Run Like This?" was inserted. This letter exposed the fact that a certain primary school used various erroneous practices to violate the education policy and teaching rules and exposed the serious consequences caused by this commitment. Because this letter reflects the problems that have generally existed in the works of primary education in recent years, it has attracted great attention from numerous educational workers and knowledgeable people in the society. There are many reasons for the unilateral pursuit of students advancing to a higher school. Speaking for the educational department, it is not mainly the responsibility of teachers, who should not deserve the blame. We should say that problems come from the people but the authorities have the responsibility, especially those departments under the upper-level leadership who encourage the unilateral pursuit of students advancing to a higher school. Until now, there are still places secretly using the grade in the unified examination and the arrangement of positions on the name list to evaluate the results in school; some schools link the evaluation of teachers' wages and money awards with the students' grades and the students advancing to a higher school; all these errors are the administrative and economic means to force schools and teachers to violate the rules and regulations of education and teaching. We hope the educational departments of all levels will understand fully its own responsibilities, undergo a thorough transformation in the guiding ideology of running a school and decide to take effective measures to rectify the tendency of pursuing only the students

advancing to a higher school. The educational departments must persist in principle and do lots of propaganda and explanatory work in order to resist certain pressures from society. We have considered that in the regions where the junior middle school has already become universal, students from primary school will advance to junior middle school without going through a unified examination, and those who have passed the graduation examination will advance to the nearest junior middle school; a larger service area will be delimited for the key middle school to enroll new students, and a quota will be allotted to the primary school by which the students will be recommended. As for the middle school, only the good students will be chosen and given admission. We think this is a strong measure to liberate the primary school students from the numerous examinations and overloaded studies and to liberate also the cadres and teachers in the primary school from the weight of the students advancing to a higher school. We request all schools to go into this experiment seriously and to practice it step by step decisively. We believe that if only the authorities and the people cooperate with a mutual purpose and overall administration, the problem of pursuing unilaterally the students advancing to a higher school will surely be solved gradually.

The Young Pioneers is a mass organization established by the party for children and teenagers and is a school to teach them communism. It embodies education through a special form of organization, a rich variety of activities and a collective life with its members as masters. Years of practice have proved that the Young Pioneers is an indispensable, important component of the whole educational enterprise for youngsters and serves as a competent assistant in education. The Young Pioneers' education and school education are closely interconnected; they are inseparable and supplement each other, and each has its particular points to stress. To develop fully the function of the Young Pioneers would help the youngsters develop more actively their morality, intelligence and physical culture; it helps combine education inside the class and outside the class, inside the school and outside the school as well as their activism, initiative, creative spirit and self-education ability. In recent years, the Young Pioneers organization has implemented the policy "to organize all teenagers and children." Starting from the first grade in primary schools, all children of suitable age are recruited into the organization, and this act has shown even more clearly the position and function of the Young Pioneers in school education. Educational departments of all levels and schools should stress strongly and sustain enthusiastically the work of the Young Pioneers in order to give full play to the function of the organization.

First, we must pay serious attention to the concerns and guidance of the Young Pioneers. The responsible comrade concerned should work on this himself and appoint special persons to contact the Young Pioneers constantly, keep each other informed and coordinate closely. He must take the initiative to understand the conditions of their work as well as to study and settle with the league committee the difficulties and problems in their work and to help them sum up their work experience. Schools must admit the brigade instructors of the Young Pioneers into their administrative

meetings, the Young Pioneers work must be listed in the schools' educational work plan and the activity time of the Young Pioneers must be guaranteed.

Second, we must assist the league committee in building up the brigade of instructors. It is necessary to select teachers with a high ideological conscience, love for children and certain working abilities to be instructors of the major brigade of the Young Pioneers. We should pay great attention to the work, study and livelihoods of the instructors. During the readjustment of wages, selection of advanced teachers and evaluation of titles, the teachers who are selected as full-time instructors in a major brigade should be evaluated by taking their abilities and the results of their work for the Young Pioneers as one of the main bases of judgment. It is important to use different forms such as lectures, short-term training courses and advanced training with release from work to improve the training of the instructors and to raise continuously their political, cultural and business levels. In consideration of the students of the secondary teachers school who are to master the fundamental knowledge and skills in the work for the Young Pioneers, "Works of Young Pioneers" should be added to the curriculum of the secondary teachers school; furthermore, the work of Young Pioneers is to be listed as a content of educational practice.

Now, in China, there are 3.7 million Young Pioneer instructors who are the important force in the education of teenagers and children. An instructor's work is very hard but noble, and I want to take this chance to put forth my expectations for you: I hope you will understand fully the important meaning of the work of Young Pioneers from a strategic point of view, to have a passion for the work of the Young Pioneers, to enhance the creative and self-sacrificing spirit and to offer your great contributions for the training of a new generation for communism. I hope you will love the teenagers and children and understand them thoroughly. You will be their understanding friends; let your own good soul, speech and manner influence and mold them; have an overall concern for their growth in morality, intelligence and physical culture; and fight against any phenomenon that would harm their physical and mental health. I expect you to study hard Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and the educational theory and business knowledge of the Young Pioneers in order to improve and renovate your own cultural and scientific knowledge. I suggest that instructors with qualifications do some additional teachings so that you will not only understand the youngsters better but also get familiar with the work of teaching. When you leave the post as an instructor, you will be able to comprehend teaching work as well as the key to teaching. I hope you would be on the front lines of the reforms of education and Young Pioneers work; liberate your thoughts, be practical and realistic, explore actively and work practically to be creative and advanced in enriching the youngster's life after class and outside school; and, finally, do your best to create a new situation for the work of the Young Pioneers.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CONTINUING EDUCATION IN DEMAND

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO [CHINA EDUCATION JOURNAL] in Chinese 24 Jul 84 p 1

[Editorial: "New Development in China's Higher Education: Continuing Education"]

[Text] Today we have covered the results achieved by Qinghua University on developing continuing education. In recent years in all China, some universities, scientific research organizations and some industrial and mining enterprises have done a great deal of work in this area. This is a new, important and significant development in China's higher education.

The mission of continuing education is to renovate the knowledge of administrative cadres on the job and personnel at their posts who possess the higher knowledge of a specialty. Continuing education is intended not only for high- and middle-level personnel outside the educational system but also for the teachers and scientific research personnel at the universities. Continuing education is different from general adult education or cadre education in that it is an educational form to teach systematically new theories, new techniques and new methods to the personnel of the higher cultural and scientific levels who are at their posts and possess the knowledge of a specialty. It is also different from postgraduate education, its form of study is varied and flexible and its time of study is irregular, sometimes long, sometimes short. There is no age limit for the students. The teaching contents stress practicability and aims. There was this kind of education in some of our institutions of higher learning and research organizations in the past and has developed rapidly in the recent years, but no summary has been given theoretically, it has not been taken as a regular and important component part of higher education and it has not become a regular practice. Now, it is time to place this subject on the schedule for a settlement.

Continuing education is developing rapidly alongside industrial and agricultural production, especially the development of the new technological structure. In order to be up to date in material production and scientific technology in the world, and to be able to withstand the vigorous competition, many countries pay serious attention to the development of continuing education. In the United States, there were 30 million persons undertaking continuing education in 1978. In the Federal Republic of Germany, 50 percent

of the engineers have had continuing education. In France, 75 percent of the universities participated in continuing education in 1978; aside from financial aid from the government, it is legally stipulated that the enterprises must provide 1.1 percent of total wages for the continuing education fund. In Soviet Russia, it was stipulated by law in 1977 that engineers and technological personnel must engage in advanced studies every 5 years.

China is a developing country. There is a considerable difference between our scientific and technological level and that of the developed countries. If China is to realize the four modernizations, the development of continuing education has even a more extraordinary significance for us. According to the statistics of 1982, there were 2,820,000 people who were above the university level; among those people, 1 million graduated during the Cultural Revolution. Due to the fact that they have been out of school for many years and a number of them had a defective education in the past, these 2,820,000 people request urgently to make up for their lost studies and to develop and renovate their knowledge. Their request cannot be settled by self-study after work without help. There are two reasons for this: first, the study would be limited by conditions; second, the achievements would be too slow. It is a matter of course that to develop continuing education as a new order of higher education needs not only a lot of hard work but also a certain amount of investment. In the last few years, our continuing education, in a situation where no important investment in progress has achieved a considerable development because institutions at the high levels generally have not yet reached the planned scale, can still afford to have something to spare, such as teachers, equipment, schools, etc. It is necessary hereafter that continuing education be listed as a regular mission in institutions of a high level and be developed with leadership and in a planned way.

Continuing education is a new undertaking, and its development needs the party and government to sustain materially and to be supported by policy; it must have a specialized structure to organize and administer; and its development must be included in the development plan of China's higher education. At the same time, the quality of continuing education must be strictly guaranteed. All institutions of higher learning, with the guarantee to complete the daily teachings and scientific research assignments, must explore the potential and create conditions to do their best to develop continuing education. Of course, a way of developing continuing education for quantity but without quality must be prevented. Under the leadership and concern of the party and government, the continuing education in China will be developed rapidly and in a healthy manner.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTELLECTUAL'S STRUGGLE TO ENTER COLLEGE

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[Reportage by Meng Xiaoyun [1322 2556 0061]: "Tears of the Diversiform-Leaved Poplar"]

[Text] Editor's note: In "Please Read the Article 'Tears of the Diversiform-Leaved Poplar,'" carried in the 4 September issue of this newspaper, the letter from Comrade Li Huang was quoted, in which it was suggested that all cadres of the whole party at and above county level, in particular cadres of organizational and personnel departments, should earnestly read this reportage and think carefully about their own work. In order to meet the needs of readers, we here reprint the reportage "Tears of the Diversiform-Leaved Poplar." Because of limitations of space in our newspaper, we have asked the author to abridge it for our reprint. [End editor's note].

The diversiform-leaved poplar, the oldest species of poplar, has now become a rarity in the world.

I have seen such a precious tree on the fringe of the Taklimakan Desert. It is very tall, with a crooked trunk, like a very old man with a bent back. There is nothing attractive in its features; but it has great vitality, withstanding drought, the salinity of soil, wind, and sand. It is capable of growing in the scorching heat in summer, in the bitter cold in winter, and in terrible natural conditions, with an annual rainfall of only a little more than 10 mm.

The natives call the diversiform-leaved poplars "trees capable of crying tears." This is because the dryer the environment gets, the more moisture is contained in its trunk. If its bark is cut with something sharp, the moisture contained in its trunk will ooze out from the "wound," and it looks as if it is crying brokenheartedly, with the tears running down. For centuries, such naturally growing diversiform-leaved poplars, growing and dying in the natural courses, have always provided people with all kinds of valuable things in their silence. The timber it provides is excellent building material; its tender branches and leaves are fodder favored by cows and sheep; even the "tears" that ooze out from its trunk soon turn into a kind of crystal, called diversiform-leaved poplar soda, which is edible and is used in making soap.... Ah, you tree capable of crying tears! I caressed the rough trunk of a diversiform-leaved poplar, and was deeply moved by its noble character.

And suddenly, I thought of Qian Zhongren, an instructor at the Reclamation University, whose acquaintance I had made in Tarim. No stranger, holding his rough hand and looking at his dark and weather-beaten face, would ever believe that he is only 39 years of age, neither would he believe that Qian Zhongren is an intellectual.

For 4 whole afternoons and 4 evenings, Qian Zongren told me about his experiences of 20 years of frustrations. Each of his words was like one teardrop after another, oozing out from the diversiform-leaved poplar.

#### Leaving His Native Place

On a slow train from Lanzhou to Turpan in August 1964, there sat a young man around 20 years old, lanky, honest-looking, but sad. He had no luggage with him, not even a bag. He was penniless after buying the train ticket. He was not visiting relatives, neither was he on business; however, he was traveling alone far away from home.

This young man was named Qian Zongren, a native of Huzhou Production Brigade, Xiangxiang County, Hunan Province.

The train rumbled on and on; passing outside the train window were flashes of the endless desolate Gobi Desert, like his school life. Perhaps it was his fate to be lost in an alien country when he grew to be 20. He was a well-disciplined, diligent, and pure young man, but since he began to be aware of the world, he had always felt as though he were being stifled, weighed down by something like a heavy stone. He had always been accompanied by a shadow--being labeled "the son of a rich peasant." For this reason, his membership of the CYL was out of the question, and thrice he had lost the chance of entering college. Now, he could not even make a living in his native place.

To speak justly, Qian Zhongren's family class origins were first determined as being poor peasant during the land reform, which was reasonable. However, they happened to offend the chairman of the peasants' association at that time, because of some family dispute, and the chairman then changed the Qian family's class to "rich tenant." In this tempestuous land reform in the south, some small mistakes did not affect the greatness of the campaign at all. However, it was this small mistake that had brought about the half-a-lifetime tragedy of Qian Zhongren.

Fate was always playing tricks on him. Qian Zhongren sat for the entrance examination to college for the first time in 1962. He ranked among the first 10 candidates in the whole province, with outstanding results. The Qinghua University enrollment work team was ready to enroll him. However, the Xiangxiang No 2 Middle School party branch deputy secretary fanned the jealousy of a student cadre, who stole Qian Zhongren's diary, quoted out of context, and altered the conclusion on Qian Zhongren in his political appraisal to "the student in question is from a bad family background; he is reactionary in ideology; and it will not be proper to admit him to college." Thus, Qian Zhongren was rejected. However, he would not accept his fate. The next year, he was again admitted by the Precision Instrument Department of the Harbin Engineering Institute, with outstanding results in the examination. He was wild with joy and could not sleep a wink all night.

At that time, the experiment of the "four cleanups" campaign had just begun in Changfen Commune. The commune CPC Committee Secretary S [as published] was acting as the work team leader stationed in Huzhou Production Brigade. While they were making investigations and organizing the class ranks, news spread that Qian Zhongren was to be enrolled in college. That very evening, a mass meeting was called at the village, and Secretary S made a report, in which there was one passage which made Qian Zhongren quiver: "Are there no signs of class struggle here in our brigade? It has been more than 20 years since liberation; and the whole production brigade has had only one college student to boast of. And now, Qian Zhongren, the son of a rich peasant, has passed his entrance examination to college, and is to be engaged in some secret speciality (Secretary S made no distinction between 'secret' and 'precision'). Why should so many children of the poor and lower-middle peasants fail to get to college, while he attends such a good college? And this is done with somebody's approval. Is this not class struggle? Can we send him to college? Here I am making this announcement: he who approved Qian Zhongren's going to college will be held responsible, and he who helps him go through the formalities will also be held responsible!"

Qian Zhongren was exasperated and frustrated, and he went to see Secretary S as soon as the meeting was over. The young man cried; nevertheless, tears would not help move Secretary S. How could he know that Qian Zhongren had spent nights and days working hard for an opportunity to further his education, and how could he understand Qian's yearning to go to college!

Zhongren could not accept this cold fact at the age of 19. When he got home, he cried and cried, and spent another sleepless night. The brigade cadre refused to go through with the necessary procedures for his change of residence. With his faith in the party's policy, he carried with him nothing but a report, and went on his journey to Harbin.

Qian Zhongren was compelled to leave the Harbin Engineering Institute 3 months later. All the students of class 6312 in which he was studying saw him off at Harbin railway station. Qian Zhongren could not hold back his tears, and neither could anybody present. "We will be waiting for you to come back, Zhongren," they said, as they waved goodbye. And Zhongren was so naive; how could he know that he would never come back, and that it would be impossible for him to step onto the campus again.

His fate was in the hands of Secretary S and others. Secretary S, who was shamed into anger, wrote a letter to the Harbin Engineering Institute, demanding to have Qian Zhongren's eligibility for enrollment cancelled. The Harbin Engineering Institute CPC Committee sent Comrade Sun Jingluo to carry out investigations and negotiations in Xiangxiang County, and to publicize in Changfeng Commune the party's policy that "attention should be attached to one's class origin, but the theory of taking into account class origin alone should be avoided, and importance should be attached to one's political showing." He asked the "four cleanups" work team to give permission for Zhongren to go to college. However, Secretary S immediately organized people to write more than 10 pages of material, in an attempt to prove the "poor political showing" of Qian Zhongren. When Sun Jingluo found out that the material was

sheer fabrication, he argued strongly with just grounds. Secretary S simply refused to be reasonable in face of the facts, and went so far as to say: "If the leading organ of the party at the commune level should fail to deal with the child of a landlord and rich peasant, what will be the result? Does the Harbin Engineering Institute belong to the CPC or the KMT? Why do you not support the poor and lower-middle peasants instead of the landlords and rich peasants?" Playing his last card, the scoundrel said: "If you should insist on sending Qian Zhongren to college, we will remove our work team at once, and you can send your people to take over the 'four cleanups' work [word indistinct]." The negotiations failed. The Harbin Engineering Institute had no alternative but to persuade Qian Zhongren to give up school.

What price had Qian Zhongren paid to further his education! However, he was not desperate. During the talks in which he was persuaded to give up school, he asked with tears in his eyes: "If I sit for another college entrance examination, will I be given permission to do so?" "We hope you will do it next year, and apply for the Harbin Engineering Institute again. We do welcome you," enthusiastically said the comrades from the Harbin Engineering Institute who had escorted him back to his native place. "No problem, we will let you take the examination," the commune cadres present promised with one voice. Qian Zhongren readily believed them. The following year, he got everything ready. But when he went to enter his name, the work team created difficulties. Nine times he visited the commune office, and nine times he was stopped at the entrance. And the time for entering one's name was over. Qian Zhongren could not think of taking any food; he was very much depressed, desperate, and sad. For the first time in his life, he had come to sense his own weakness.

So he said goodbye to his native place, but who knew whether he was ever to see it again. He was heading for the most desolate Gobi Desert. He could not go to college, but he still had a heart and a pair of hands, with which he could participate in the building of the motherland.

Strangely enough, there emerged a sense of mystery in Qian Zhongren regarding the future, mixed with some warm aspirations. On the train going west, he wrote a poem with a rapid pen, as he was leaving his native place:

"With eyes transfixed I recall the past in dilemma,  
And vague is my destination and the date of mx43574,  
The whistle of the train urges me to tear myself away,  
And the rumbling of the wheels says that the journey is long.  
To strive for a brighter prospect I bury the past,  
An alien place is perhaps better than my native land.  
The hero is in search of a place to display his prowess,  
And a precious flower will emit its fragrance wherever it goes."

#### A Precious Flower Will Emit Its Fragrance Wherever It Goes

A new young man now frequented the reading room of the Arksu County Library, Xinjiang. He was lanky, with his face roughened by wind and sand. This young man was not other than Qian Zhongren. Now he was a worker at an experimental

forestry center, with a monthly pay of 33 yuan. There was no extra money for books, but he managed to solve the problem: At daybreak on Sundays, he would go on his way, covering a distance of 30 li from the forestry center to Arksu. He would walk very fast, and always be the first to wait for the reading room to open. The women librarians all know about this young man. It was noon, and he was still reading, while nibbling his steamed bread made of corn flour. "Tempering into Steel," "Forest in Snow," "Midnight," "Silent Flows the Don," "To the New Shore," "Les Miserables,"... he had finished reading a whole list of these great literary works of China and the world during that period.

"A fool, a real bookworm; he does not even know about taking a rest on Sundays."

From the very first day he arrived at the forestry center, Qian Zhongren was called a "fool."

Qian Zhongren could have found a more ideal position. Li Jingyun, from the same province as himself, was a good friend of Director Chang of the Labor Bureau. Li told the director that a brother of his would like to find a job in Xinjiang, which his old pal Chang promised to make arrangement for without any fuss. So Qian Zhongren came to Arksu to take his place a Li Jingyun's brother.

But when it came to the point of making specific arrangements for his work, a clerical worker posed the question: "How did it happen that you became familiar with the director? And what is your relationship?" Qian Zhongren had never learned to tell a lie, and told him the whole truth. "Well, in that case, it won't be easy to make work arrangements. Do you have residence registration? Can you manage to get one?" The clerical worker pulled a long face and grumbled. "No. Even if I get one, I am afraid it cannot be done for the time being." "Do you have any specialities?" "No, nothing in particular. But I can do any manual work." "Will it be all right if you are sent to the forestry center to reclaim waste and to plant trees?" "Sure, it's okay."

After he arrived at the forestry center, Qian Zhongren repeated the above dialogue to the workers in the dormitory, and he was ridiculed as a fool: "Couldn't you have said you were a relative of Director Chang? It would have been arranged for you to work in a prefectural factory or any office. And there would have been plenty of time to have the problem of your residence registration solved. Oh, you are a complete fool." All his life, Qian Zhongren may never learn to tell a lie. However, he was quite satisfied. So long as he was no longer discriminated against in politics, he would feel as if he had gone up to heaven from hell, and would willingly work hard and suffer from want.

He did not have enough clothing for the winter, or enough bedding to keep him warm, but the young man cared very little. What was important to him was to find an ink bottle to turn into an oil lamp, with which he would study and write. The essays he had published in ARKSU BAO, and the novelettes "The Young Lady of the Reclamation" and "Recognition," which he managed to have published in XINJIANG WENXUE [XINJIANG LITERATURE], were all written by the light of this little oil lamp. The soil in Arksu was fertile enough, and red flowers and green grass were sure to grow from it. Qian Zhongren had finally planted his feet on this piece of land, and had struck roots in it.

It was about 1965 when many workers ran away from the forestry center because of the low pay and the hard life there. In the tent there were left only Qian Zhongren and another worker. "Four cleanups" work team leader He came to the forestry center on an inspection and found a poem written by Qian Zhongren pasted above the head of his bed, it read:

"The desolation out on the frontier no one can deny;  
The sand swirled up by the wind is our canopy,  
And the earth our beds.  
Sons and daughters of the Chinese nation  
Are bent on making this our home.  
Beautiful are the scenes in the southern country,  
And willingly we sweat and toil,  
To make the frontier as beautiful as the south.  
We do miss our folks at home,  
But here to my parents,  
Are a few words from the bottom of my heart:  
I will strike deeper roots here,  
And make the frontier my second hometown.  
I hope some day I will grow up useful like the trees,  
The red willow, and the white poplar."

He praised it highly and commended Qian Zhongren at a mass meeting. Trust brought relief to Qian Zhongren's mind, which had undergone much torment. And the gap in human relations narrowed. Zhongren told He everything about himself--his family history, and events in his own life--on which the latter showed deep sympathy. He suggested Zhongren go back to his native place to clarify his family class origins which the "four cleanups" campaign was in full swing. But at that time, Zhongren could not afford the traveling expenses; instead, he wrote a very long report and sent it to the headquarters of the "four cleanups" work team under the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee. But what he never expected was that this report would become the grounds for a charge of contradicting the verdict on his family class origins during the years of turmoil. It was a very sensitive problem. The Changfeng Commune of Xiangxiang County sent letters to Arksu Experimental Forestry Center on nine occasions, demanding to have Qian Zhongren sent back to his native place to be reformed through labor.

We had better not mention those years of turmoil. In such a vast country as China, almost every family, every individual innocent person has had his own experiences bitter beyond words. Without doubt, Qian Zhongren belonged to the "seven sinister categories," and it would be more than enough to subject him to the proletarian dictatorship on the following charges: 1) he had sneaked into college and was expelled; 2) he had insisted on his reactionary stand and attempted to reverse the verdict on his family; 3) he had written reactionary poems and published poisonous works; 4) he had cajoled support from "capitalist roaders," in an attempt to sneak into the revolutionary rank and file. We would find it unbearable to recall: he was forced to make self-examination, seized and denounced, bound and beaten, compelled to do forced labor, to escape, to roam about.... Life had snatched everything from him, deprived him of everything, and expelled him from the circles of normal people, and his name

was in the census book listing disreputable people. Despite all this, there was still a fire in his heart that had not died. He wanted to study. When he was serving his term in prison, he recited in silence ancient Chinese prose and poems, and solved mathematical problems using formulae; and when he was in the "study class," he studied grammar and rhetoric, by taking the opportunity of writing his self-examination. He hoped that one day he would devote his wisdom to the motherland, and devote his accumulated knowledge to the people. What life, which constantly strove to become stronger in adversity! And what an undaunted soul in the desert of severe drought!

In those long years, the gap between man and man began to get infinitely wide, so widened and expanded that finally the forestry center could no longer tolerate him and had him sent back to his native place; and he had to part with his fiancée, who had thought nothing of the distance of 10 thousand li to settle down in Xinjiang specially for the man she loved. So Qian Zhongren said goodbye to Arksu, where [he] had spent 6 years.

While he was wandering alone along the stone-paved road in the county seat, a slender, good-looking girl walked toward him. She was his former classmate; Wen Huanan. Qian tried to avoid her; for since his return to his old home, he would not dare visit any of his former schoolmates or teachers. "Well, if it is not Zhongren! Why not come over [to] my place and have a chat?" When the kindhearted Wen Huanan learned about events that had happened to Zhongren, she said with deep sympathy: "You are a good carpenter, are you not? Why not come to fix the doors and windows at the No 2 Middle School? I am the janitor there." Such enthusiastic words made Zhongren feel warmth in his utter loneliness.

Qian Zhongren had worked at the No 2 Middle School for a week or so when he was finally discovered by a teacher there and driven out, and even Wen Huanan was severely criticized. He was said to be a dangerous person. What heartache it was, he was even deprived of the right to labor.

Qian Zhongren carried his carpenter's tools on a shoulderpole, dragging along with heavy steps; for the burden on his mind had nearly suffocated him. Once again, he left his hometown on 29 December 1974, leading a wandering life. Where could he go from there, and how was he going to make a living? Qian Zhongren now felt melancholic and at a loss at the age of 30.

In Wuhan, he was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of a young lacquerer, who instilled new strength into his life. The lacquerer was named Du Xiaoyu; he looked about 26 or 27. Du Xiaoyu was a young man waiting for employment who had once settled down in the countryside. The two of them worked in the No 3 mine under the Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation. Qian Zhongren was doing carpentry work for some people while Du Xiaoyu cooperated with him in doing the lacquer work. One day, Qian Zhongren was reading big-character posters criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius in the factory, when young Du tapped his shoulder and said: "Craftsman Qian, I did not know that you were so concerned about politics. Come, let us have a chat at my place."

Qian Zhongren came to the lodging of the young lacquerer. It was a shed built of waste boards nailed together. There were two beds in the house, patched up

with boards and covered with straw. What impressed him most were the books, lying everywhere on the floor and on the beds. They were all books on philosophy and history. On many pages of the books, there were passages or lines carefully underlined with dots or words circled in ink. There was not a single novel. The lacquerer happened to be studying "Anti-Durhing" and "The American Civil War" at that time.

"What are you studying these books for?" asked Qian Zhongren.

"Do you know why China is suffering from such turmoil?" The young lacquerer asked in reply. "I have been trying to find an answer. Do you know whom the spearhead of the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius is directed against? It is none other than Zhou Enlai...."

The young lacquerer started from the history of the Chinese revolution, and explained the political situation in Chinese society at the time. Qian Zhongren also talked about his own experiences. Then he signed with emotion, saying: "There is always an ineradicable shadow on me!"

"The theory that class origins should be taken into account belongs to idealism. The ideological burden that has weighed on you is artificial. As it has been laid on you, so it can be removed...."

This conversation greatly agitated Qian Zhongren. He felt his poverty in philosophy and narrowness in perception. For the first time in his life, he had come to realize that he should to say farewell to his "shadow," although it would be so difficult to get rid of it. The shadow was illusory, while Qian Zhongren was real.

#### Only 2 Years Over The Limit

In winter 1981, Qian Zhongren took the train heading south--from Urumqi to Xian. His feelings were somewhat complicated.

Between July 1978 and the spring of 1981, Qian Zhongren had completed eight college courses during the intervals between being busy at work and doing laborious household chores. He had filled more than 40 exercise books with notes, and had done math problems filling another 20 exercise books, and he had obtained a graduation certificate from Xinjiang Broadcast University with excellent results in all courses. In September 1981, he passed the enrollment examination for postgraduates, to be under the instruction of Professor Liu Shuqing of the Mathematics Department of the Northwest University. He ranked first among the 26 candidates. He waited and waited for the notice of admittance, but it just would not come. What had happened? He was already 37 years old, and it would be his last chance to further his education, so how could he afford to miss it. So he set out for Xian to find out about it.

Could I have made some blunders? Qian Zhongren was lost in thought on the train. In mathematics, there is a term known as "conditional maximum value." Under given conditions, a particular quantity may change its internal factors, so as to acquire its maximum value. And a man can only continue at full speed



to strive for his greatest value under unchangeable conditions. It was precisely with this positive attitude that Qian Zhongren had strived for the greatest "value" of life in the 8 years since his return to Arksu.

On construction sites, in the tent on the Gobi Desert, he began to study the structure of Han characters with the help of a few dictionaries and some waste paper. Through many sleepless nights, he made a close study of every Han character, and of their stroke order, classifying and arranging them using certain methods, and, by the end of 1975, he succeeded in inventing a new "method for arranging Han characters in codes based on stroke order."

It so happened that CAN KAO XIAOXI [REFERENCE NEWS] carried a report on an American Chinese who had invented a method of arranging Han Characters which was basically the same as that invented by Qian Zhongren.

Qian Zhongren plucked his courage and sent his method of arranging Han characters to RENMIN RIBAO, asking them to recommend it. RENMIN RIBAO sent it to the commercial press. Two years went by before the commercial press returned it to Qian Zhongren when sorting out their materials. They expressed regret that they did not have a special organ engaged in the study of this field, and suggested that he send it to other departments or to some relevant specialists. It was reported in the same year at the National Science Conference that people had invented a similar method for arranging Han characters in codes based on stroke order; later there were successive reports of the invention of more advanced methods. Qian Zhongren was too far behind to catch up. He lived in a remote place, without anyone to give him guidance, without any of the necessary books and materials, without any contact with science and technology departments and educational institutes. Who would guide him? Who would support him? Even if he had made some achievements in his study, attaining a considerable level, who could discover it? Who would recommend it? Who would acknowledge it? And who would employ him?

However, Qian Zhongren had discovered his own potential from his own studies. He was determined to take college courses through self-study, and to enter his name for the entrance examination for postgraduates. Every step he took, he had to exert great efforts and to pay a price. It was very difficult for Qian Zhongren to choose his speciality--there were no books whatever, and his speciality would be determined by whatever books he could manage to obtain. In his neighborhood, he found a well-used and incomplete "Advanced Mathematics" volume one. He mailed more than 70 orders to the Xinhua bookstores in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, and other places, and they answered: "Sorry, they are out of stock." Finally he managed to get a few books on mathematics and an English-Chinese dictionary.

He allocated his time like this: in the daytime, he persisted in doing a good job of his professional work; he always picked heavy work, and was never absent--so as to prevent inevitable criticism; after his 8-hour day, he had to go on doing manual work (making some money by making furniture for others), otherwise, it would have been impossible for him to support his family--his old folks, his wife, and his children all depended on him for a meager living from his low wage. Apart from his 5 hours sleep, he had to make good use of every

minute, and the time for meals, washing, walking to and from work, and even the toilet was counted as time for studying. He started by learning his ABC, and succeeded in memorizing 5,000 English words, and he solved more than 10,000 mathematical problems, while he got thinner and thinner, and lost weight day by day. But he did not care--that was an unusual period of racing against time.

He finally made it, passing the examination; but to this day, he has never received a notice of admittance.

The heavy train made a tremendous rumbling as it moved along. Oh, fate, why should you be so ruthless to me? Should my dream of a lifetime once again be smashed? What is my fault? Oh, what is my fault?

Qian Zhongren found a fault at last in the depths of his memory. He had made his age in the application form 2 years younger than he actually was; but that was the only way of being eligible to take part in the entrance examination. The age limit for candidates who entered their names for the 1978 entrance examination for postgraduates was 40, in 1979 and 1980 it was 38, and in 1981 it was 35. But by then, Qian Zhongren was already 37. He had early left the shore on his ship of life and let it drift anywhere, but much time had been wasted not far from the shore. Was he himself to take the blame? Qian Zhongren wrote a report to the postgraduate office under the Northwest University, telling them of his own peculiar experiences and of his feelings about furthering his education. He hoped that his case would win the sympathy and understanding of those concerned.

At that particular moment, on the train, Qian Zhongren was reading his own report in silence:

"All my life, I have been dreaming of having a chance to enter college, even for a fairly short period of time. I am not seeking a good name, and I know it will not help improve my economic condition. All my life, I have only wanted a living standard that will basically keep me alive, but I have always yearned for a better environment to acquire knowledge. I should like to have some experience, and to see whether, as a child of the state, one can make one's life shed light, when the state satisfies one's wish to quench the thirst for study. I would like to complete the 3-year course in 2 years, so as to solve the contradiction in age. If at any time I should be discovered to be lagging behind other outstanding, younger students, I will immediately leave school of my own accord...."

Then he recalled the further examination in Xian, and his contact with Professor Liu Shuqing. This scholar at the advanced age of 74 understood his experiences, and showed a sympathy and liking for him. Professor Liu held that age was not a problem in principle, and there were precedents for enrolling candidates who had exceeded the age limit. He would suggest that the school authorities enroll him as an exception on the following grounds: 1) the candidate in question had excellent results in the examination; after the personal test by the instructor, it was held that the candidate had studied on his own without any guidance before he sat for the examination, and that his actual

standard was higher than the level demonstrated by the examination marks; he was, therefore, very promising; 2) in reference to the experiences of the candidate, the age problem was actually the outcome of the erroneous line; the candidate himself had exerted his utmost efforts to mend it; true, he had exceeded the age limit, but his case should be pardonable; 3) the candidate had persisted in self-study under very poor living and studying conditions; such aspirations should be commended; 4) there were still vacancies for postgraduates in the Department of Mathematics; as we had the ability to train more talented people, who the state urgently needed, we should not miss the chance. This written proposal had been discussed in the Department of Mathematics before it was submitted to the school authorities.

Can it be that my report and the proposal of the Department of Mathematics have been rejected? When Qian Zhongren arrived at the Northwest University and saw the expressionless face of the responsible person of the postgraduate office, his heart turned cold.

"I am making this announcement to you on behalf of the school authorities. You are not to be enrolled because you have exceeded the age limit."

On hearing this, Professor Liu was very angry, and said to Qian Zhongren: "The postgraduates to be enrolled are under my instruction. How can they dismiss them without first consulting me? You have exceeded the age limit, so what? If those of 35 can be postgraduates, what's wrong with those who are 37. You go to Beijing and visit the Ministry of Education, and see if there is still any possibility of solving the age problem. I will give you a letter of recommendation. First go and find Zhang Guangzhou of the Mathematics Research Institute. He is capable of helping you." The revered Liu got 30 yuan from his wallet, and asked his child to buy an express ticket to Beijing for Qian Zhongren.

Zhang Guangzhou met Qian Zhongren amid his busy activities. Qian Zhongren said: "Of those people who are established in their specific fields of work, 90 percent first made their achievements during their golden age of 25 to 30, or before 40. I am going on 40, but I hope I will be one of the other 10 percent." Zhang Guangzhou could not help praising him, saying: "Wonderful, you seem to be a man of aspirations. Everyone has the right to strive to become one of the rank and file of the other 10 percent. Many people have made achievements after they were 40. We have very little contact with the Ministry of Education. However, I am quite familiar with two reporters of GUANGMING RIBAO and ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BOA. They have a good grasp of the policy. Go and find them and try your luck."

Qian Zhongren carried a letter of recommendation written by Zhang Guangzhou and found his way to GUANGMING RIBAO. The reporter Lao Lin was very enthusiastic, and promptly made contact with the postgraduates office under the Ministry of Education, while sending in Qian Zhongren's report on his request to become a postgraduate student. The postgraduates office under the Ministry of Education relayed the report to the Shaanxi Provincial Education Bureau with the following comments: "There is really something special about the case of Qian Zhongren. We hope the Shaanxi Provincial Education Bureau will help the Northwest University to consider whether it is possible to handle it as an exceptional case for enrollment."

Filled with hope, Qian Zhongren returned to Xian and went to visit the responsible person of the postgraduates office under the Northwest University. The reply was cold, but smooth and evasive:

"The Ministry of Education has asked us to think it over, but it did not say anything definite about enrollment. A current graduate of the Chinese Department of our university exceeding the age limit also sat [for] the entrance examination for postgraduates, and the results of his examination are well above the required standard. We would like to enroll him, but as the number of candidates whose examination results are well above the required standard far exceeds our enrollment quota, that student exceeding the age limit had to be rejected. We cannot enroll you because we have to treat everybody equally, without discrimination. Here, we show our sympathy to you because you have failed to enter college, and for the torture you went through during the Cultural Revolution, which actually had nothing to do with us in any case. It is impossible for all those people who have become talented through self-study to become postgraduates. There are bright prospects for you in Xinjiang as well."

Once again, Professor Liu Shuqing was furious: "This is nonsense. Now, go to Beijing again and find Jiang Nanxiang, Hua Luogeng...." Again he produced 30 yuan, enabling Qian Zhongren to make the trip. Although Qian Zhongren was beginning to feel that there was very little hope, he did not want to hurt the feelings of the revered Liu, and he visited Beijing a second time.

According to the postgraduates office under the Ministry of Education, the decisionmaking power lay with the university concerned regarding the enrollment of students; if the university concerned was bent on rejecting him, the Ministry of Education would be powerless to change the situation. Qian Zhongren could not possibly stay long in Beijing. The lodging expenses, which cost him 2 yuan a day, had almost made him penniless.

On many occasions he had cherished hopes, and on as many occasions his hopes had been dashed, and his heart had sunk. Simply because of exceeding the age limit by 2 years, he had journeyed scores of thousands of li, which had taken him almost 100 days and had cost him several hundred yuan. If he had been given the opportunity to study, he could have already completed a whole year's course as a postgraduate.

While people were sympathizing with Qian Zhongren, they could not help sighing with emotion. Human value lies in man himself. What did 2 years really mean in the long river of one's lifetime anyway; but why should some of our departments have attached such great importance to this insignificant external factor, as something inviolably sacred, but while neglecting the talents themselves? How many talents have been suppressed, shelved, stifled by this rigid personnel system? Should this personnel system which has been binding people not undergo reform?

"Bai Le" [legendary wise man who could tell at a glance which was the best horse, hence, one who recognizes talents and holds them in high esteem]  
Emerges Everywhere

Qian Zhongren, this little blade of grass that grew stubbornly out of a crack between stones, would feel the warmth and caress of the spring breeze even when he came across someone who was a cold and evasive stone. But actually, he has met many "Bai Le's" in his lifetime; is not Professor Liu Shuqing one of them?

And there was Professor Yang Weiqi, of the Office of Basic Sciences under the Beijing Engineering Institute, whom Qian Zhongren has never had the pleasure of meeting in person. Once, at a conference held in Qingdao, he met Zhang Guanghou and Liu Shuqing, and learned of Qian Zhongren's case. He felt indignant about what had happened to him, but at the same time he was deeply moved by Qian Zhongren's spirit of making unremitting efforts to improve himself in adversity. He decided to enroll Qian Zhongren as a postgraduate student in 1982, with the approval of the Ministry of Education. Although this wish has never come true for various reasons, Qian Zhongren has been most grateful for his good will. He has kept up a correspondence with this professor whom he has never met, and has become one of his "outside campus postgraduates."

"Bai Le's" emerged everywhere; some he knew in person, others he never made the acquaintance of. Those enthusiastic scholars, specialists, and reporters supported Qian Zhongren at critical moments. Two decades had elapsed, during which he had gone through many frustrations; but at the same time, he had won the understanding of quite a few people. He had not drowned himself in the bitterness resulting from an abnormal life; on the contrary, he had cultivated another type of character.

Qian Zhongren returned to Xinjiang after being rejected in the entrance examination for postgraduates. In Arksu, Qian Zhongren met another "Bai Le"--Xuan Huiliang, director of the Propaganda Department under the Arksu Prefectural CPC Committee. This has been [a] piece of luck for Qian Zhongren among all his misfortunes. Having read the life story written by Qian Zhongren, Xuan Huiliang was deeply moved. He went personally to the Experimental Forestry Center to make an investigation into Qian Zhongren's case. He heard some criticism of Qian Zhongren; for example, he was cold and indifferent to others, unsociable and eccentric, had a desire for personal fame and gain, and ignored his proper occupation; however, even those who criticised him had to admit that he had gone through all kinds of suffering, but had persisted in self-study, which was admirable. Xuan Huiliang understood and liked Qian Zhongren--discerning the good qualities and potential in this young man.

Xuan Huiliang is a person worthy of being written about at length. After he first made the acquaintance of Qian Zhongren in May 1982, he helped Qian solve three of his problems within the space of 6 months. First, changing his status as a worker to that of a cadre. Xuan Huiliang had intended to transfer Qian Zhongren to a middle school in Arksu Prefecture as a teacher; for there were more books and materials in the school, and a better environment for studying than in the Forestry Center. He first made contact with the No 2 Middle School, but they rejected Qian Zhongren under the pretext that he had a Hunan accent which was not suitable for teaching. Then he made contact with the No 4 Middle School, which said that Qian Zhongren's status as a worker

must first be changed to that of a cadre before he would be accepted formally as a teacher. Xuan Huiliang visited the Prefectural Educational Office, and the Agriculture and Forestry Office; so far everything was going smoothly. But when he visited the Prefectural Personnel Office, a stumbling block appeared, as a clerical worker said this case had to undergo examination and approval along with others in September, and there was a full month to go.

But who knew that during this period of time, Qian Zhongren would receive a telegram from Professor Yang Weiqi of the Beijing Engineering Institute, requiring him to send his personal record to the institute as soon as possible, as the Beijing Engineering Institute would enroll him exceptionally as a postgraduate in its Department of Mathematics in 1982. He should not lose that chance at any cost. But it so happened that Qian's personal record was nowhere to be found. Earlier, in 1980, the Nanjing Oil Headquarters under the Xinjiang Oil Administrative Bureau had just been set up; they were in need of teachers and translators, and they would be pleased if Qian Zhongren would go and work for them. Hence, Qian Zhongren's personal record was sent to the Oil Department. But who knew that this unit would be closed down and merged with other enterprises the following year, and no longer need hands. And that was how Qian Zhongren's personal record had come to be lost.

There came another telegram from the Beijing Engineering Institute to press for the record. Xuan Huiliang was as anxious as Qian Zhongren. He went lobbying in personnel departments, recounting Qian Zhongren's circumstances, in hope to win their sympathy, so that they would prepare another copy of Qian's personal record. He requested them to approve changing Qian Zhongren's status as a worker to that of a cadre ahead of schedule, and to make it part of his new personal record to be sent to the Beijing Engineering Institute. Nevertheless, those clerical workers remained indifferent, and rejected Xuan Huiliang's request.

The director of the Propaganda Department had no rights in personnel and financial affairs, but he had a sense of justice. Despite the fact that he ran into snags and was foiled everywhere, he was bent on helping Qian Zhongren. Xuan Huiliang had to exceed his sphere of authority (such a practice does not generally conform to the formalities in getting things done in China), and made a duplicate of the report on Qian Zhongren's conversion to cadre status, of his autobiography, and of his organizational appraisal, and had them stamped with the seal of the Propaganda Department and sent to Beijing.

But it was too late, and the delay had caused the loss of an opportunity. It was another failure for Qian Zhongren, unable to enter the Beijing Engineering Institute as a postgraduate. Xuan Huiliang was very sad about it, and he felt indignant about the bureaucratism of some organs and their intolerable indifference toward talented people; at the same time, he felt sorry about a real talent like Qian Zhongren being stifled. Qian Zhongren had lost one opportunity after another. "I am forced to cross the Rubicon, and there is no retreat. Come success or failure, I will fight to win or die. I want to further my education in whatever form, and I shall not allow myself to shrink from any difficulties," he told Xuan Huiliang, and there was something solemn and stirring in his sentiments.

Hardly had one wave subsided than another rose. A comrade of the reporters office of GUANGMING RIBAO stationed in Xinjiang wrote a letter to Qian Zhongren, informing him that Comrade Fu Wen, a member of the regional CPC Committee Standing Committee, had made comments on the employment of Qian Zhongren, the general idea of which was to transfer Qian to the Tarim Reclamation University as a teacher after a trial period. This, of course, had stirred up new hopes in Qian Zhongren. He paid a visit to the Arksu Prefectural Organizational Department to find that this document had been locked in a drawer for 2 months without due attention. And the answer of the Organizational Department was: What we are in charge of is cadres at and above the prefectural level, including professors, instructors, and engineers. People like you are not in the sphere of our administration. Even if it were within our realm of administration, the Tarim Reclamation University is jointly run by the Department of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery, and the Construction Crops, and we have no right to be concerned with that. Therefore, this document was sent on to the Cultural and Educational Office from the Organizational Department. Again, the Cultural and Educational Office pigeonholed it without due attention. Xuan Huiliang went to the office in question personally and asked about it, and the document was finally found in a mess of documents. Again, Xuan Huiliang served as a lobbyist; he took the document with the comments on it, hurried by car to Aral, more than 100 km from Arksu, and finally found the leadership of the Tarim Reclamation University. Then he visited the Experimental Forestry Center and the Prefectural Personnel Office, did his best in persuasion, and finally succeeded in making Qian Zhongren able to report to the Tarim Reclamation University in early 1983.

Qian Zhongren signed with emotion and said: "Things would be much better in China if there were more cadres like Director Xuan." True, if the cadres of our personnel departments could become more enthusiastic and warmhearted, like Xuan Huiliang, things in China would be run much better.

Qian Zhongren has gone to work as a teacher at the Tarim Reclamation University, and thus his life of frustrations over 2 decades has at last come to an end. It is our hope that he will no longer play a tragic role in the days to come. May he succeed!

"Let bygones be bygones. It is my hope that I will be able to do something for the people, and be understood by people, and I will feel satisfied, for it will prove that my efforts in the past 2 decades were not vain. I want to be acknowledged by society through my own efforts, so that those young people who have begun to work hard at their self-study and who have met with some setbacks will have confidence in themselves; and at the same time I want to show those people who have attacked me and impeded my progress that when the young grass is breaking through the ground to live, nobody can suppress its growth. I am full of faith in life, and I hold that fate is something that we can fight against. In most cases, wonders take place in adversity. Finally [words indistinct], even for half a century."

I believe, when Qian Zhongren was speaking about all this, tears must have been running in his heart. Definitely.

Qian Zhongren's experiences, his character, his moral quality, his spirit all remind me of the diversiform-leaved poplar on the river bank in Tarim, the tree that is capable of crying tears.

Qian Zhongren is precisely a diversiform-leaved poplar that has struck root in Aral, a once neglected, undaunted soul. In the sweeping of the dry desert wind, and the gnawing of salinity, a life suppressed and distorted will finally straighten its trunk. He is not complaining, he is not losing faith; this is because the personal tragedy of the past was also the misfortune of the work society. Life is making progress, and together with the people and the state, he is enjoying the mild spring.

Oh, diversiform-leaved poplar, magnificent tree!

Oh, tears of the diversiform-leaved poplar, solemn and stirring tears!

CSO: 4005/015



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 84 p 5

[Article by Chang Gong [7022 1712], Southwest Institute of Political Science and Law: "Schools of Higher Education Not Only Have To Expand Powers But Also Must Have Rules"]

[Text] There are many problems in the management of higher education in our country. The two main ones are: The over-concentration of management authority and the lack of self-governing authority by the school itself, and the absence of regulations within the institutions of higher education. It is difficult to deal with internal and external relationships without regulations. Under this situation, even cadres of exceedingly high calibre would have difficulty displaying their talents. Therefore, I feel it is necessary to "loosen up" schools of higher education. My suggestions are as follows:

- (1) Reform the leadership system of schools of higher education. Schools of higher education might try implementing the presidents-deans responsibility system to increase their authority. After the division of labor between the party and the government, the party committee will be responsible for exercising leadership over ideological political work.
- (2) Reform the cadre management system. Presidents and deans of schools of higher education can be appointed by leading organizations and given full responsibility. Vice-presidents and vice-deans can be nominated by the presidents and deans and will be approved and appointed by the supervisory organization. Vice-presidents and vice-deans will assist the presidents and deans and will be responsible for the allocated jobs. Middle-level cadres will be appointed by the school itself. With the power of personnel management principals and deans can handle their business more freely. This is also advantageous to cadre system reform.
- (3) Reform the cadre system. With the readjustment of leading groups, "life-long tenure" and the "iron armchair" (a secure job) must be abolished. Incumbents should be assigned relevant responsibilities and awarded accordingly. Those who are not holding posts should not enjoy the same treatment. As to veteran cadres, it is no doubt that they should be treated according to the current central policy.
- (4) Give necessary self-governing power to the schools to implement reform and to create a new situation.

- (5) Draw up the regulations of schools of higher education as soon as possible. Within the schools, the leadership system, the division of labor between party and state, and the authorities and responsibilities of all levels should be clearly defined by the law. Therefore, there are regulations to follow when dealing with various relationships, and to further bring into play the positive role of the schools of higher education within the law. We have to remove all obstacles in training qualified persons and make concrete and greater contribution to our country.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INDEPENDENCE OF HIGHER INSTITUTIONS ADVOCATED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 84 p 2

[Article by Chen Peiyu [7115 1014 0151]]

[Text] The system of having institutions of higher learning under the jurisdiction of the various ministries of the central government should be changed. These institutions should operate independently from those ministries.

When institutions of higher learning are under the jurisdiction of the ministries, disadvantages outnumber advantages:

First, this system affects the development of cross-ministry specialities and hinders the exploration of, and research in, frontier sciences. Because the programming of specialities at institutions of higher learning under the various ministries proceeds from the needs of each ministry itself. But today, sciences and technologies develop by leaps and bounds; and frontier sciences also continue to surge forth; yet the ministries have not shown any interest in this state of affairs.

Second, when institutions of higher learning under separate ministries program their specialities, they tend to aim at "small but complete" operations, leading to duplication of these specialities between the ministries and waste of manpower, material and financial resources. For example, ship institutions would set up a transportation machinery specialty applicable to ships, while railroad institutions would set up a transportation machinery specialty applicable to railroads; their names may be different, but their substance is similar and some turn out to be even entirely the same. In order to train these basically similar personnel of a specialty, the different institutions need to program a specialty of their own, hire a contingent of teachers of their own, buy a set of laboratory equipment of their own, and each of them would also recruit a not very large number of students.

Third, organs running the institutions thus overlap each other, and their efficiency becomes lower. In order to lead the institutions of higher learning under them, the various ministries would set up many duplicate special organs, and these institutions under the ministries would also often receive even more documents whose contents are basically similar, attend even more

meetings of repetitious proceedings, including certain meetings which do not necessarily have much to do with education.

Of course, we are not saying that there is nothing good about having institutions of higher learning under the jurisdiction of the ministries; the practice serves to mobilize the enthusiasm of the ministries in running such institutions. Hence, some become apprehensive that if the institutions should become "unhooked" from the ministries they would become "isolated and weakened." For this reason, we must, while attempting to make our institutions of higher learning independent from the ministries, see to it that the disadvantages of having them under the ministries are eliminated while the advantages of doing so are preserved.

When an institution of higher learning becomes independent from any ministry, it becomes an independent entity in name and in substance; its president would become really responsible while its party committee provides supervision and guarantees. The institution would enjoy complete autonomy.

When an institution of higher learning becomes independent from any ministry, its educational funds would come from monetary allocations by the state and from compensation agreements for training talents for the ministries. It may also collect some minor fees from the students. It may also create its own incomes. From the standpoint of the various ministries, they would have to treasure their talents even more because of this, not like today when they are thought to have been costless in their training and hence can be pigeonholed or wasted at random. From the standpoint of an institution of higher learning, it must do its best to improve the quality of the education it provides so as to ensure the outflow of qualified talents.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU QIAOMU WRITES PREFACE TO NEW EDITION OF NOVEL

HK100952 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 84 p 8

[Article by Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606]: "Preface to the New Edition of 'Master of a Hall in the Village of Hopelessness'"]

[Text] "Master of a Hall in the Village of Hopelessness" [Wuwang Cun De Guanzhu, 2477 2598 4140 7419 0031] is a medium-length novel written by Comrade Shi Tuo, an old writer, under the pen name of Lu Fen during the enemy's occupation of Shanghai in 1939. Recently, the writer made a certain number of alterations in the novel and gave many annotations on the parts and phrases which young readers and southern readers find it difficult to understand. Thus, this novel, which depicts the romantic story of a family in northern China (presumably in the writer's home village in Henan) which goes from poverty to wealth and back to poverty again in four generations, has appeared anew before readers. I think that readers should be happy about this.

This novel has certain value to understanding modern Chinese history. At the mention of landlords, people often refer to materials concerning the history of social development. Although these materials have important significance, it is very difficult to know from them about the specific conditions of the landlord society in modern Chinese history. Fortunately, in modern Chinese literature, there are many fine works exposing the decadent, dark landlord society, and this exposition can match the needs of readers of our times. This medium-length novel is of such a type. It bears its own local characteristics and what it depicts is quite unique, therefore, it has its own special contributions. It depicts in detail the landlord society in modern Chinese history, the life of a landlord family, and characters and unexpected matters appearing in the society and family. On the one hand, we have lost nearly all trace of such things, and on the other hand, their influence and images can still be found in some aspects of our life. Therefore, it is still beneficial, I think, to recommend this novel, which depicts the story taking place in the countryside before and after the 4 May movement.

Being a novel, it should be appraised from the angle of novels. It is not long, and there are not many characters. But the plot changes very sharply, so sharply that sometimes it is as violent as a storm. From this novel, readers can know how some people in the old society became ferocious, vicious, wicked, and apathetic; and how kindhearted people were trampled underfoot. For a time,

the writer energetically and successfully wrote many short stories in the prose style (his early short stories can be found in the "Collection of Lu Fen's Short Stories" published by the Jiangxi People's Publishing House, and the name Shi Tuo is still used). However, this medium-length novel has been organized in such a compact manner that it can present itself as a well-knit opera. The story proceeds very quickly, but the description of the characters and scenes is minute. From the novel, we can see many carefully and precisely drawn portrait-paintings and genre paintings. A good novelist is not necessarily a person who can write good articles, but the writer can be both. This is another valuable point of the novel.

When the novel was first published, its distribution was quite limited due to the circumstances at that time. Now the reprinting of the novel is underway, and I express the hope that it will arouse the attention of the nation's literature and art enthusiasts. I am not a critic of literature and do not know much about the writer and his works (we have corresponded several times, but I still do not know him, and I am afraid I have not read even one-fifth of his works). Of course, I am not so careless as to say that this novel is a great work. I only wish to say that readers will enjoy reading this novel and will, like I do, thank the writer for giving a beautiful description of tragic and ridiculous, yet true and believable historical events which took place in our own country merely half a century ago. I also thank Comrade Sha Ding, whom I respect, for recommending me the novel despite his illness. This gave me more confidence in writing the above few lines.

Postscript by Shi Tuo: The writer did not date this preface. It was very careful of him to send me a letter and to send back, together with the letter and the preface, the envelope I had used to enclose my letter which asked him to write the preface. On 23 June 1984, I sent him a letter asking him to write the preface, and his letter for me was dated 10 July (1984), in which he mentioned that the preface had been corrected three times. He is very busy. I was moved by his kindness and his spirit of doing things in a conscientious manner. Written in Shanghai on 15 July 1984.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BAN YUE TAN ON RURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

HK201335 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 84 pp 20-23

[Article by Song Tingming [1345 1694 2494]: "Looking at the Whole Nation from the Viewpoint of Five Counties"]

[Text] How should we further reform the economic management system at the county level, after universally implementing the system of contracted responsibilities linking payment to output on a family basis, in order to accelerate the transformation of the rural areas from a self-sufficient or semi-self-sufficient economy to large-scale commodity production and from traditional agriculture to large modern socialist agriculture? Not long ago, the China Economic System Reform Society invited five typical advanced counties from various parts of the country to attend a meeting to investigate the economic situation in the counties. "If you look at one spot on a leopard, you can visualize the whole animal." From these five counties, we can see that the trends of economic development in counties and in the entire rural area.

The five counties participating in the investigation meeting were: Jiangsu's Wuxi County--its gross output value in industrial and agricultural production reached more than 2 billion yuan in 1983, ranking first in the country; Anhui's Fengyang County--a county which has changed from poverty to prosperity and which first implemented the system of contracted responsibilities linking payment to output on a family basis; Jilin's Huaide County--a county which produces a large quantity of grain and which produced 2.865 billion jin of grain and sold to the state as a commodity 2.03 billion jin of grain in 1983; Sichuan's Guanghan County--one of the country's counties first selected for carrying out experiments on reforming the commune system and restoring township government; Guangdong's Xinhui County--a county which possesses the country's largest equipment for producing polyester long fiber and polypropylene long fiber. All these five counties possess something which ranks first in the country and they have played a demonstrative and exemplary role in the country's economic reform. Each of them is surrounded by a large number of counties which have more or less the same level of development. In a certain sense, these counties represent the direction of economic development in counties and in the entire rural areas. We can gain a great deal of enlightenment from their experience.

## 1. Open Up a Road to Prosperity Through Carrying Out Reforms

The various policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee can be boiled down to the policy of making the people rich. How can prosperity be attained? The "secret" of these counties which have become well-off before others is that they dare to smash the "leftist" trammels, integrate the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session with local realities, boldly carry out reforms, dare to make innovations, and dare to open up paths leading to prosperity. Fengyang County smashed the trammels of "leftist" ideas, broke with the system of "eating from the same big pot," and implemented the overall contracted responsibilities system. A year later, it succeeded in solving the problem of food which had remained unsolved for more than 20 years. Nineteen eighty-three per capita income was 350 percent more than that in 1978. Guanghan County set up agricultural, industrial, and commercial joint committees to promote rural economic development after reforming the commune system, separating government work from commune management, and restoring township governments. At present, innumerable fruits of reform have been gathered in the rural areas and reforms in towns are now in the ascendant. The productive forces in urban and rural areas will certainly be greatly liberated and more counties will soon become rich by following their examples.

## 2. Put the Development of Small Towns and Township Enterprises in an Important Position

With the universal implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities linking payment to output on a family basis, large numbers of special households engaged in commodity production and management have emerged in the rural areas. The vigorous development of rural commodity production and special households has promoted the prosperity of township enterprises and small market towns. The vigorous growth of small market towns in turn boosts the economic development of counties. Viewed from these five counties and many other advanced counties with a relatively more developed economy, we have discovered new trends of development which have attracted much attention:

1) Rural areas are developing from a single-product economy to a diversified and specialized, commodity economy. The percentage of commodities in agricultural products has increased by a big margin. The commodity rate of grain production in Huaide County in 1983, for example, exceeded 72 percent and the number of special households engaged in various kinds of commodity production abruptly rose to 35,000. 2) The economic structure of counties has changed from having agriculture as a major factor to having industry or having industry, agriculture, and commerce as the major factors. 3) County leadership which mainly grasped agriculture work in the past has now mainly grasped industry and commerce. 4) People in rural areas, who looked forward to settling down in cities, have now given up farm work but remain in the same localities and work in factories without settling down in towns. Small towns and township enterprises have developed rapidly. Wuxi County's town and township enterprises had developed to 2,558 in 1983, with a total output value of 1.3 billion yuan which accounted for more than 60 percent of the gross output value in the county's industrial and agricultural production. At present, a great deal of excessive manpower and numerous skillful craftsmen have given up farm work and



engaged themselves in industry, commerce, building industry, and service trades. They have moved from rural areas into towns. This is historical progress and is very useful in thoroughly changing the backward situation of "having 800 million peasants to produce food" for the country and in quickening the steps in the modernization drive.

Practice has helped us understand one thing: "Without agriculture, our life cannot be stable; without industry, we cannot become rich; without commerce, the economy cannot be enlivened; without knowledge, we cannot make innovations; and without foreign capital, we cannot quicken the economic development." Xinhui County has imported foreign capital in the form of compensation trade and built the country's biggest polyester long fiber and polypropylene long fiber workshop, which has an annual output value of 100 million yuan and an annual profit of 24 million yuan. The building of only one factory has enriched the whole county. As a matter of fact, each county, no matter whether it is rich or poor, has its own superiority either in geographic location, resources, capital, manpower, technology, or capable personnel. If it makes use of its superiority to run township enterprises suiting measures to local conditions, it can then turn its superiority in resources into superiority in products and superiority in enterprises and can promote its economic development. Huaide County is ready to make use of its superiority in grain production to develop the food industry, the animal feed industry, and the seed industry. Guanghan County is ready to build up the county's four main industries--food industry, light industry, vegetable oil industry, and building materials industry--with state-run enterprises as the "dragon's head," the collectives as the "dragon's body," and the peasants as the "dragon's tail." We can gain much enlightenment from what they are thinking and doing.

### 3. Consider the Development of County Economy on the Strategic Plane

Politically speaking, a county is a grassroots organ of state power in our country. Economically speaking, a county is an intermediate link between workers and peasants and between town and countryside. In order to invigorate county economy, it is first necessary to effect a big change in the guiding ideology for economic development of leaders at the county level. They can no longer be "agricultural secretaries" alone but must also act as "industrial secretaries" and "commercial secretaries." Second, it is necessary to have a strategical plan or tentative plan for the economic development of each county and to make clear the direction to its future development. Third, it is necessary to do a good job in organizing and leading economic work in order to coordinate, guide, serve, and supervise the economic work of the whole county instead of merely giving orders and instructions, or monopolizing and controlling as was done in the past. Fourth, it is necessary to closely cooperate with central cities, have rational division of work with them, and develop harmoniously together with them.

In developing county economic work, reforming the economic management system at county level brooks no delay. Sichuan Province has decided to carry out comprehensive experiments on reforming the economic system in 33 counties including Guanghan, Qinglai, and Xindu Counties. A system of contract responsibilities will be implemented in handing over financial revenue to the state,

in production of grain, and in the purchases of the chief agricultural and sideline products. A pattern suitable for the economic development of the respective counties will be found through explorations which proceeds from reality. Fengyang County is ready to implement the overall contracted economic responsibilities system and to break with the existing system. A county agricultural, industrial, and commercial development committee and a county special households association will be set up to coordinate in an overall manner the economic work of the whole county.

#### 4. Depend On Science and Technology to Bring About an Economic Take-Off of the County

A common characteristic of these advanced counties which have rapidly developed their economy is that they have all attached great importance to the application of science and technology and to giving play to the role of intellectuals. The present and past few secretaries of Huaide County have all been college graduates. They have paid great attention to the integration of science and technology and the economy. In the past few years, the county has given various forms of training to more than 100,000 peasant technicians, who are now playing a positive role in production. Wuxi County has cooperated or set up ties with more than 700 scientific research institutes and colleges. In the past 5 years, it has developed more than 420 new products, among them 20 have never been produced in the county or in the province and 100 are being exported. Such cooperation has played a decisive role in the county's economic development. These counties have boldly used "capable persons" to manage the economy. They will not run any factory without having first found capable persons for it so that all their factories are properly run and can obtain very good economic results. Besides, all these counties have paid great attention to investment in education. In addition to doing a good job in running rural secondary and primary schools, many of them have prepared to set up colleges. If all the 2,000 counties or so throughout the country have the same spirit in carrying out reforms and making innovations as these 5 counties, many rural areas, counties, and towns which are still backward at present will soon become prosperous.

CSO: 4005/015

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### POLICY FOR IDEOLOGICAL, MORAL EDUCATION SUMMARIZED

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 5, 25 May 84  
pp 7-9

[Article by Zhang Wensong [1728 2429 2646]: "Summary of the Concluding Speech Given at the Symposium on Ideological and Moral Education in the Nation's Elementary Schools"]

[Text] We hold this symposium so that participating comrades can express and exchange views and experiences concerning how ideological and moral education in elementary schools can be strengthened in view of the new circumstances. It is our hope that the symposium will expedite our work in the future. Now I would like to address some of the issues that have come up on the floor.

First, the strengthening of ideological and moral education in elementary schools should be considered within the same context as the realization of the overall strategic mission and goal. Any issue that can be considered in terms of its strategic standing is a serious matter of overall importance which affects the long term interest of the people. The 12th Party Congress labelled education and science as one of the three strategic focal points of the socialist economic construction. This is why the development of education is a matter of overall importance. On the other hand, in terms of the overall mission of the socialist economic construction, education is a matter of partial and local importance; in other words, education must give service to the construction of socialist material as well as spiritual civilization, and must nurture the various kinds of talent and laborers for each and every sector needed in the socialist construction. At the turn of the century, elementary school students will constitute the principal force of China's socialist construction. In order to realize the task of quadrupling our output, the nurturing of talent becomes the most important, most demanding, and most urgent task for the preceding 10 years. Those of us in the educational field must have strategic foresight. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has recently proposed that "education should be geared toward modernization, the world, and the future." This implies that in view of the accelerated development of the technological revolution, scientific, ideological, and moral education must be further improved. The future generation should be

superior to ours ideologically, morally, culturally, and technologically.

Furthermore, we should strengthen ideological and moral education in elementary schools through economic and social programs and by changing policies toward families. For instance, as the economy expands, the livelihood of the people continues to improve and new science and technology continues to be introduced. Ideologically speaking, children who grow up in this kind of environment tend to be more responsive; physically speaking, they mature at earlier ages. Moreover, students who are now in elementary schools enrolled after the "gang of four" had been crushed. Theoretically speaking, the ideology prevalent during the "cultural revolution" should have had little effect on them.

However, the young parents of these children grew up during those 10 years of upheaval, and this factor will inevitably have some influence on the children. Special attention should be paid to the fact that there are increasingly more children who experience unique psychological circumstances--their parents are young and inexperienced in raising children and their grandparents often tend to pamper them. Out of these circumstances arise an urgent issue--i.e., what kind of a generation of successors will we cultivate? It may be said that indifference to the education and nurturing of children is indifference to the future of our country and people.

Second, the communist ideology should be the core of our education; the relay baton must be passed on from one generation to the next.

The basic content and requirements of ideological and moral education were mentioned in the "Outline of Ideological and Moral Education in Elementary Schools" issued in 1982. As expected, this outline needs further improvement. We should stress moral cultivation and behavioral discipline of children and teenagers. We should strengthen ideological, patriotic, collective and labor education through concrete but imaginative teaching methods in order to install in students an urge to strive upward for the rebuilding of China, a willingness to serve the people, and also good working habits. On the basis of the materials used in teaching ideological and moral education for elementary schools written and revised in various provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, a textbook for use nationwide should be produced quickly. In order to address this issue in the proper manner, systematic investigation and research should be conducted continuously on the ideology, morality, and behavior of elementary school students of various ages. Systematic investigation and research should also be conducted on students' social environment, economic status and family educational levels. Improvements in educational guideline for ideological and moral education in elementary schools should be made according to realistic needs. We should also develop adequate textbooks, reference books, and supplementary reading materials for use nationwide.

Third, the strengthening of ideological and moral education in elementary schools and the enhancement of the political ideology and performances of cadres and instructors are matters of crucial importance. Our elementary school teachers lead inadequate material lives although they shoulder heavy responsibilities. Ideologically they strive after lofty goals. They do not mind material inadequacy because they are content with the fact that they nurture, for the motherland, a generation of successors. We should single out model elementary school teachers and publicize extensively these exemplary figures.

It was the consensus among participants that moral cultivation among teachers is an important task. It was also agreed that a basic guideline on professional ethics should be set for elementary and high school teachers. It was felt that in order to do their job well, teachers must first of all develop a strong sense of love for their students. They must be morally righteous so that they can exercise proper influence and effect on the students. As we organize programs of advanced studies for teachers, we must insist that they cultivate teachers who are both socialist-minded and vocationally proficient.

Ideological and moral education for instructors is a task of vital importance. Educational departments and schools in various regions should, on the basis of well-administered ideological and moral education by all teachers and staff members, engage in careful selections of class directors, counselors and instructors of courses in ideology and morality. Rules must be set regarding documents, material and reports these comrades are exposed to. Academies for advanced studies for teachers of various levels and in various areas should assign specialized personnel or set up special teams to conduct research on programs in ideological and moral education and in the training of instructors.

Fourth, the strengthening of ideological and moral education in elementary schools should integrate with the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, party rectification, resistance to spiritual pollution, and the effort to fundamentally improve social customs. We should fully recognize the fact that spiritual pollution can do great mental and physical damage to teenagers and children. As far as elementary schools are concerned, we should not use the same methods that we use to eliminate spiritual pollution; instead, we should place our emphasis on the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, educate students about communism and patriotism, assure the wholesome growth of teenagers and children, and resist the influence of the bourgeois and other corrupt classes.

A good way to form the socialist spiritual civilization is to set up schools of civilization in accordance with the principles of the "five stresses, four points of beauty, and three points of devotion." The continual practice of the "five stresses, four points of beauty, and three ardent loves" will affect positively social customs and will give a push to the thorough implementation of the educational policy and various projects.

As we practice "five stresses, four points of beauty, and three ardent loves" and form schools of civilization, we must take into consideration characteristics of elementary schools and their students, observe the guideline for educational undertaking, and so solid work to achieve favorable results and avoid formalism.

We would like to call to the attention of our comrades that when elementary school students are required to participate in large scale mass activities, proper arrangements must be made to assure order and safety for children. Educational departments and students may refuse to take part in these activities if such measures are not taken.

Fifth, educational departments, schools, and class directors should stress the work of teenage vanguard teams and fully develop their function in order to successfully institute ideological and moral education in elementary schools. Counselors to teenage vanguard teams are close friends of children who are aware of their ideological development and who educate children as they relax, converse, and engage in activities together. Educational departments and schools should summarize the experiences of teenage vanguard teams, and be concerned with the work, life, and advanced studies led by counselors. Full time counselors to teenage vanguard teams should be given the same treatment as teachers in schools. The standards by which counselors are given titles, chosen as exemplary figures, or promoted should be the same as those for teachers.

Sixth, school education should integrate closely with good family and social education.

The party Central Committee's leading cadres have reiterated the importance of paying attention to details in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. Schools should shoulder this responsibility. In the meantime, family and social education also plays a major role. Its importance will increase in view of the new circumstances.

Some senior comrades in Henan Province's Anyang City have recently suggested that an "association of people concerned with the next generation" should be organized. This is an excellent idea. The association can integrate the older generation with the next one. This concept should be propagated for the association can open up a broad and significant road for the older generation which include senior cadres, aged workers, veterans of the Red Army and the 8th Route Army, old labor models and those comrades that have occupied positions of secondary or 3d-rate importance. It is our hope that the association will develop thoroughly and be of service to teenagers and children in various areas. Naturally we should not neglect the fact that some of the senior comrades are old, we should insist on the principle of volunteerism and allow them to perform within the limits of their abilities so as not to increase their burden.

Also, it would be a good idea for schools to hire outside counselors. The experience of Beijing's Lixue Primary School related at the conference were good ones. Hired by the school were senior cadres, senior party members, veterans of the Red Army, the 8th Route Army and people's militia, old

workers, peasants and exemplary figures from various sectors who assisted the school in educating teenagers and children in patriotism and the tradition of the revolution. It proved to be a matter of major significance.

It is also our hope that radio and television stations, movies, the literary and art circles, the publishing industry and various circles related to physical education and health will provide children with more and better food for thought. We would like to urge various regions and departments to open up for children activity centers such as youth palaces, youth homes, youth centers for extra curricular activities, gyms for children, movie theatres, museums, reading rooms, and scientific technology centers.

In order to educate children in the proper way, schools should be in close contact with the parents. Young parents who do not know how to educate their children should be "re-educated." Some schools have held seminars for parents on how to educate children and practice children health care. Some have even taken the important and necessary step of opening up schools for the parents where knowledge in education and psychology is introduced systematically. Some areas have initiated campaigns which encourage students to be good students in school, good children at home and in society. We would like to propose that parents should also strive to be good parents. If all families are "families that are good in 5 aspects," and if all parents are good parents at home and good citizens in society, children will definitely be under favorable influence.

Seven, more consideration should be given to how to lessen the academic burden of primary school students.

Presently, moral and physical education is still being neglected in some areas. The tendency to stress a larger portion of students entering schools of higher grades has in some areas interfered with primary school education. We should not blame entirely those comrades in charge of elementary education, much less the teachers, for the existence of such a phenomenon. It can be attributed to many things. However, so far as school education is concerned, we should insist on acting according to the guideline for educational undertaking, implementing the socialist educational policy thoroughly, and being concerned with all the children so that they can enjoy well-rounded development morally, intellectually, physically, and aesthetically. We would like to suggest that as soon as a student passes the elementary school graduation examination given by the school he should be allowed to graduate. Recruiting exams should no longer be given in areas where the number of junior high schools is large. Priority high schools may recruit "students who are good in the three aspects" recommended by their elementary schools and also students with good grades. Our comrades everywhere ought to be aggressive in creating ways to improve. We must first of all liberate elementary school students from the heavy burden of exams and academic work. We must liberate cadres in, and teachers of, elementary schools from the pressure of having to have greater portions of students who enter schools of higher grades. This reform should be experimented in specially designated areas before it is instituted extensively. At the same time as we upgrade the quality of junior high schools which form the weakest

link, we should try to integrate this effort with the accelerated development of professional and vocational education. In the absence of the integration, it would be difficult to solve the problem we face.

Further improvements ought to be made in the curricula, the planning and content of teaching methods so that elementary school students can enjoy lively and positive development morally, intellectually, physically, and aesthetically. Instruction schedule should be flexible. We should also institute colorful extracurricular and out-of-school activities to enrich the lives, broaden the interest, and develop the intellect of children. It is for these reasons that we urge educational departments in various regions to institute in elementary schools this experiment in educational reform.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### TOTAL NEGATION OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION URGED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by Zhang Tongji [1728 0681 1015]: "A Proudhon-type 'Dichotomy' Should Never be Used to Evaluate the Cultural Revolution"]

Proudhon was a French 19th century petty bourgeois economist and sociologist and one of the founders of anarchism. The Proudhon-type "dichotomy" is, in simple language, the division of any matter, simply and mechanically, into two aspects, a good one and a bad one, and applying this principle in a confusing way as a general formula. As Proudhon saw it, "the good and the bad, the beneficial and the harmful, compose contradictions inherent in every economic category. What is necessary then is merely to preserve the good and eliminate the bad aspect." According to this kind of "dichotomy," we must not only not completely negate the slavery system, the feudal system and the ownership system of capitalism, but should, after an elimination of their bad aspects, render them perfect and flawless. This is utterly absurd. As Marx precisely pointed out: "If we would sum up the whole process of the dialectical movement into a simple contrast of good and evil...there will be no more dialectics left; in its stead there will be at most nothing more than pure morality." Proudhon's "dichotomy" is not at all the same as the "one divides into two" of Marxism, but is a typical kind of metaphysics and sophistry, as it is also a pure and simple subjective idealism that starts out from moral principles in evaluating things.

The regrettable thing about it is that Proudhon's "dichotomy," which Marx criticized already more than 100 years ago, is brought up again these days by certain comrades in an evaluation of the cultural revolution. As they see it, there are also two aspects, the good and the bad, in the cultural revolution, or, as they say, there are the two elements: achievements and mistakes. We should therefore not thoroughly

negate the cultural revolution, but must merely overcome its mistakes. This is an extremely harmful viewpoint and also completely contrary to the resolution of the party's Central Committee of thoroughly negating the cultural revolution.

This so-called "dichotomy," first of all, runs counter to the principle of seeking truth from facts, and second, runs counter to dialectics. Dialectics deals with the general character as well as with the individual character, the so-called "one divides into two" in fact reflects the general character of things. However, there is not one thing on earth that does not contain contradictions of its particular kind, making up its particular structure. Whether we want to use the "one divides into two" viewpoint or the "dichotomy" in an analysis of concrete things, we must therefore take care to effect a concrete analysis of the concrete problem.

As applied to our work, we can distinguish achievements and mistakes, and as regards the mistakes, no matter of what kind they are, we must under no circumstances again try to pick out from them any correct aspects. In case of mistakes, we must apply the "one divides into two" rule, must gain an understanding of them only from an analysis of their causes and character, must understand and get a hold of them with the idea of possibly being able under certain circumstances to turn bad things into good ones. As to the mistake of the cultural revolution, we can also only in this sense understand its "one divides into two." Some of our comrades have forgotten the soul of materialist dialectics which is to make a concrete analysis of a concrete problem; they are taking the "one divides into two" as a mechanical, eternally constant formula, taking the concrete pattern of the "one divides into two" rule (good and bad, correct and mistaken) as the fixed and permanent model that applies to everything and are thereby committing the metaphysical error of having the partial stand for the whole.

If this is clear, those comrades who believe one can also differentiate good and bad in the cultural revolution and who do not advocate a complete negation of the cultural revolution should as soon as possible discard a Proudhon-type "dichotomy" and rather use the materialist dialectical standpoint in evaluating the cultural revolution.

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CSO: 4005/850

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BUILDING OF THIRD ECHELON CADRES URGED

Beijing LIAOWANG /OUTLOOK/ in Chinese No 24, 11 Jun 84 p 1

/Commentator's article: "Carefully Attend to the Job of Third-Echelon Building"

/Text/ Third-echelon building is an important strategic measure for accomplishing a smooth cooperation between the old and the new forces as well as a smooth transfer of authority from the former to the latter and for maintaining the development, continuity and stability of the party's undertakings. It concerns the party's future and destiny.

There are two main tasks in the party rectification concerning organization: first, a complete elimination of the "three types of people" and the other elements who are antiparty or dangerous to the party; and second, careful attendance to the job of building the third echelon. The former is a crucial question of party purification; the latter, a decisive factor in building the party organizations into stronger cores of leadership. The two are interrelated and mutually complementary. The success or failure in these two tasks will be an important indication of whether or not the party rectification in a department or unit has been carried out in a perfunctory way as far as organizational consolidation is concerned.

The most important requirement in building the third echelon is to adhere firmly to the criterion of personnel selection. In short, this criterion, as repeatedly stressed by the central authorities, is that the cadres must be more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. This is a concrete implementation of the principle of selecting cadres of "ability and integrity"--a principle constantly upheld by the party--in the new age. We must comply with this requirement and waste no time in promoting those fine young cadres--who follow the correct ideological and political lines; have orthodox work styles, good professional knowledge, practical work experiences, and strong revolutionary spirit for innovation; and are able to create new situations--to leading posts at various levels. Practice has proved that a great deal of arduous and cautious work is required in order to accomplish this task.

First, we must exert great efforts to remove the obstacles to the selection and promotion of third echelon cadres. Because of various complex historic and social reasons, many obstacles have been encountered in this connection.

Examples of these obstacles are the disruption from the survivors of factionalism, the pernicious "Leftist" influences in discriminating against intellectuals, ranks based on seniority of service, prejudice against talents, insistence on perfection, appointing people by favoritism, and other obsolete ideas and force of habit. Unless these obstacles are removed, it will be impossible for us to create the necessary ideological conditions for promoting fine cadres.

Second, we must be highly vigilant politically. Meticulous and indepth investigations must be conducted into the political consciousness of the candidates, and particularly their actual political behavior during the "great cultural revolution" and after the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, in order to prevent the infiltration of the camouflaged "three types of people" into the ranks of the third echelon.

Furthermore, in selecting cadres, we must note their past achievements in combination with their future prospects and lose no opportunity in promoting those who have made great achievements and are courageous in exploration and initiating reforms with a pioneering spirit. Those cadres who are only mediocre in work performance and dare not uphold principles because of their timidity and obsession with old conventions and "good-guyism" must never be admitted to the leading bodies. These cadres may have good relations with the people around them and the number of votes they receive may also be impressive; but facts have proved that they are incapable of leading the masses in creating new situations.

The mass line must be followed in building the third echelon. We must adopt the method of combining the leadership with the masses, the higher organs with the lower ones, and the organization and personnel departments with the other functional departments, open more channels of recommendation and enlarge as much as possible the scope and the field of vision in our observation and selection. We cannot follow the old practice of relying on the recommendation of the organization and personnel departments, selecting from the existing personnel of our own departments or units, or from the small number of people who are acquainted with the leadership. Historical experiences have proved these methods to be unsuccessful and unsuitable for the promotion of those talented people who are urgently needed for our socialist construction. These methods must therefore be corrected. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out long ago, "it is hoped that the party committee at all levels and the organization department will make a drastic change in this respect, resolutely emancipate the mind, overcome all obstacles, break away from the old conventions, and be courageous in reforming the outdated organizational and personnel systems.

The reserve cadres selected already for the third echelon must be boldly put to use, and we must exercise greater care in training, tempering and testing them. This is also a very important point. There is a story about one "Thunderbolt" in the Tang dynasty--a certain Pei Tanji then serving as a minor official in Tongzhou. Because of his youth, the magistrate, named Li Chiongyi, wanted to test him and assigned to him hundreds of long outstanding cases, all to be closed as quickly as possible. As it later turned out, all these cases were satisfactorily closed in a short time. Thus he became famous and gained the nickname "Thunderbolt." One lesson we can learn from this story

is that the young reserve cadres must be given certain responsibility and allowed to develop their wisdom and ability. This is particularly necessary for those cadres who have been groomed to work in the party committees. We should arrange for them to participate in guiding the party rectification so that they can be put under observation. At the same time, it will help them accumulate more experiences of leadership, improve their skill of handling complex matters, and enhance their prestige among the broad masses.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INITIATING A NEW PHASE IN PROCURATORIAL WORK

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 15 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Conform With the New Situation; Initiate a New Phase in Procuratorial Work"]

[Text] During the initial stage of our struggle for the consolidation of public security and the stern battle against serious criminal activities, the procuratorial organs, fighting in close cooperation and coordination with other political-legal departments, have well performed the official functions of the procuratorial organs as supervisors of the law. However, past victories must not be overestimated and there must be absolutely no relaxation in the struggle. The procuratorial organs must continue to direct the main thrust of their work toward a basic turn for the better in our public security and toward guaranteeing the socialist modernizations; they must work ceaselessly and unremittingly, push on in the flush of victory and continue to launch a struggle in depth to combat serious crimes. They must pay particular attention to strike with accuracy, they must pay attention to drawing distinctions in accordance with the party's policy, they must ensure quality, firmness and accuracy in their ways of dealing with cases and must ruthlessly strike against all serious criminal elements.

We must fully realize that the concentrated strike against criminal activities is an exceptional measure adopted at a time when public security is in an abnormal condition. Considered from a long-term point of view, the policy that we must conscientiously implement is one of handling all cases in a comprehensive way and of strengthening work at the grass-roots level and basic work. While effectively and sternly fighting against serious crimes, the procuratorial organs must also pay attention to the effective performance of all other work of comprehensive administration. Only by an effective mastery of the three links, combatting, reforming and

preventing, will it be possible to attain excellent results in our efforts at solving the problem of public security.

At present, the central task of the entire party is to carry our economic construction forward and to accelerate the progress of our modernizations. The procuratorial organs must be determined to free themselves of old ideas, gain a clear idea of the new situation and new tasks of the economic construction, study the new conditions, solve new problems and sum up new experiences. Simultaneously with the fight against serious crimes in general, they must launch an in-depth fight against serious crimes in the economic field, so as to serve with full political awareness as protectors and promoters of the smooth development of our economic construction. They must particularly recognize that during the process of our economic reforms, of the opening up of our country and of invigorating our domestic economy, many new situations and problems have emerged with which we are not familiar and which we have never before experienced. This demands of us that we adapt to the new situation, intensify our studies, enhance our knowledge, eliminate "Leftist" ideological influences and further rid ourselves of the fetters of outdated conventions. In one's work, it is necessary to support, protect and promote the newly emerging things and also to resolutely fight against serious criminal elements in the economic field and against criminal elements that infringe upon the legitimate rights and interests of the masses. To conform to the demands of the new situation, the procuratorial organs must intensify their investigation and research, open up a variety of channels for investigation and research, must go into the midst of actual practice to study the new conditions, must pay particular attention to the new policy and legal questions related to the new situation and must distinguish the borderline between criminal and noncriminal acts, so as to accurately use the weapon of the law, protect legitimate economic activities permitted by our policies, safeguard the implementation of our policy of opening up to the outside world and of invigorating our domestic economy, and ensuring the healthy development of our socialist modernizations.

The wind of reform is now sweeping through the whole country. Our procuratorial organs must also resolve to reform and to blaze new trails, to energetically strengthen our efforts at a more revolutionary, more regularized and more modernized construction and to institute a new overall situation in procuratorial work.

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CSO: 4005/850

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ELIMINATING THREE TYPES OF PEOPLE URGED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Leading Cadres Must Under No Circumstances Serve as Protective Umbrellas for Factionalism"]

[Text] The key to the work of eliminating factionalism, strengthening party spirit and of conscientiously and effectively liquidating the "three types of people" [1. Those who are followers of the "gang of four." 2. Those who are seriously factionalist in their ideas. 3. Those who are engaged in beating, smashing and looting during the CR.] lies with the leading groups. In the course of our party consolidation, the leading cadres at all levels must attach the greatest importance to the undertakings of the party, must clearly realize the extremely harmful effect of factionalism on party solidarity and unity, must take the lead in effectively eliminating factionalism and strengthening party spirit and must act as examples among the masses. Leading cadres must under no circumstances serve as protective umbrellas for factionalism; this is also a serious test for every single leading cadre in the course of our party consolidation. Especially the question whether party spirit or factionalism is used in guiding the work of liquidating the "three types of people," is a major question of principle, namely whether one is able to maintain a high degree of identity of views in political matters with the party's Central Committee.

As to the leading cadres, particularly high demands are made on them in the matter of effectively eliminating factionalism. This is so because it is they who cast the decisive vote that touches upon the interests of the whole and affects the overall situation in all the work of liquidating the "three types of people," in selecting "the third battle formation" and in the appointment of cadres. Every single cadre in leading position must therefore have a high degree of political awareness in the question of eliminating factionalism.



The masses are looking up to our leading cadres. If there is factionalism among our leading cadres, it will have widest repercussions, it will have a bad influence on the masses, will even provide loopholes for the "three types of people" with no end of trouble in the future. There is of course only a very small number of leading cadres that show factionalism, but the impact they are producing must not be underestimated. Certain leading cadres who had participated in factionalist activities during the "cultural revolution," who had committed mistakes and had been problematic, must be subjected to concrete analyses and dealt with in a differentiating way according to the party's principles and policies. With regard to senior cadres who had participated in factionalist activities during the "cultural revolution," the party organization should adopt the form of heart-to-heart talks, patiently extend help to them and educate them. If they are only brought to realize the mistake of factionalism, made to sum up their experiences and draw lessons from them, if they are made to rid themselves of all factionalism and to actively involve themselves in the work of liquidating the "three types of people," then no further questions will be asked of them. Comrades who have committed mistakes of a general nature shall be promptly "disentangled," in the spirit of the Central Committee's resolution on party consolidation and in accordance with the relevant specific regulations of the provincial party committee. These comrades must be made to lay down their culpable burden and join in with greater zeal in the work of party consolidation and the liquidation of the "three types of people." Speaking of those comrades who have committed mistakes, the first thing to do is to explain the problems clearly and distinctly, then to correct all mistakes and have them participate in party consolidation, standing on the standpoint of party spirit and not on the standpoint of factionalism. Under no circumstances must one dodge and evade one's own mistakes, or even use all kinds of subterfuges and argue for factionalism; to go on in this way would be very dangerous. Leading cadres should be extremely careful not to serve as protective umbrellas for factionalism, nor, even worse still, to serve as protective umbrellas for the "three types of people." Certain mistakes committed by leading cadres during the "cultural revolution" may be seized upon as their vulnerable points by some people who threaten them: "If you are going to check into my problematic past, then let us both get into exposing everything." Others even threaten: "If you get me labeled a 'third type of person,' then I will incriminate you as a 'third type of person.'" In such situations our senior cadres must preserve a clear-cut stand, must not waver ambiguously, must of their own accord put down

their culpable burdens, firmly stand on the standpoint of party spirit and stand up to the pressures and threats. Under no circumstances should factionalism be a possible consideration, considering in what connection one may be mixed up with that other person, because otherwise one would lose all backing, could not possibly resolve to eliminate factionalism and would end up in a completely passive position. As to those pressures and threats, people who frame others as being "third type persons," or commit serious mistakes, are heaping mistakes on mistakes and will be promptly and sternly dealt with by the party organization.

Notification No 9 from the Central Party Consolidation Guiding Committee points out the important significance of eliminating factionalism and of strengthening party spirit. All party consolidation units must proceed in the spirit of the Notification and continue to organize the large number of our party members for an in-depth study of the resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as well as of the article "Questions and Answers Concerning the Thorough Negation of the 'Cultural Revolution,' Elimination of Factionalism and Strengthening of Party Spirit," published in the JIEFANGJUN BAO, and also the relevant documents of the provincial party committee. There must be a true settlement, ideologically and emotionally, of the question of negating the "cultural revolution" and negating all rebel organizations of whatever faction. It must be recognized with absolute clarity that all rebel organizations of whatever faction that existed during the "cultural revolution" were all wrong. This is now a crucial question in the effective elimination of factionalism and strengthening of party spirit, as it is also a precondition to ensure the smooth progress of the investigation of the "three types of people." In this respect, leading cadres at all levels must gain an even deeper understanding and must be resolute in their implementations.

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CSO: 4005/850

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**LEADERS CONGRATULATE COMEDIANS**--Shenyang, 9 September (XINHUA)--Awards for the 1984 Comic Dialogue National Festival were announced in Shenyang on 9 September. Excerpts of 37 comic dialogues from 18 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions won separate awards for their contents and performances. It was the first national festival for comic dialogue performances. Party and state leaders Chen Yun, Deng Yingchao, Li Desheng and others either wrote letters or called by telephone to extend their greetings. In his reply letter to Xu Bi, general advisor to the Comic Dialogue National Society and famous comic dialogue performer Hou Baolin, Comrade Chen Yun said: "It is hoped that you would score even greater achievements in developing arts for comic dialogue and enriching the people's spiritual life." Comic dialogue is a unique national art performance with a strong mass following. In order to improve the quality of the performing arts of comic dialogue and provide the people with even better and more spiritual food, the Central People's Broadcasting Station, the Bureau of Arts under the Ministry of Culture, the Editorial Department of the magazine QUYI and the ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO [CHINA YOUTH DAILY] jointly sponsored the national comic dialogue festival. [By reporter Wang Ke] [Excerpts] [OW110602 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0822 GMT 9 Sep 84]

**INSCRIPTION HONORING MARTYR**--Zhengzhou, 11 September (XINHUA)--A meeting was held this morning in Zhenping County, Henan Province, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Comrade Peng Xuefeng's death for the country. The meeting heard the recitation of an inscription written for the occasion by Li Xiannian, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and president of the People's Republic of China. The inscription reads: "Learn from the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Peng Xuefeng; strive for China's socialist modernization!" Comrade Peng Xuefeng died a hero's death at the age of 37 in the Balizhuang battle in Henan's Xiayi County. Present at today's meeting included responsible comrades of the Commission of Science, Technology, and Industry for National Defense; Henan Province; Nanyang Prefecture; and Zhenping County. [Excerpts] [OW120411 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1530 GMT 11 Sep 84]

**TITLE FOR MEMORIAL HALL**--Tianjin, 16 September (XINHUA)--The unveiling ceremony was held for the memorial hall rebuilt on its former site for the "Jue Wu Society"--a patriotic and progressive student organization organized by Comrade Zhou Enlai in Tianjin during the "4 May" Movement. Located at No 4, San Cheng Li, Zhaowei Road, Hebei District, Tianjin City, the former building which

housed the "Jue Wu Society" was destroyed in an earthquake in 1976. In 1983, the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee and the municipal people's government decided to rebuild the memorial hall. Comrade Deng Yingchao inscribed in gold characters on a red horizontal board "Jue Wu She Jiu Zhi" [6030 1889 4357 5283 0968 Former Site of Jue Wu Society]. [By reporter Zhang Shuying] [OW180129 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1409 GMT 16 Sep 84]

DEMOCRATIC PARTY ACTING CHAIRMAN--Beijing, 19 September (XINHUA)--The vice chairmen of the Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy have decided, after consultation, that Vice Chairman Ye Shengtao will serve as acting chairman of the Central Committee of the association before a chairman of the Central Committee is elected at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the association. Ye Shengtao, born in Suzhou City, Jiangsu Province, in 1894, is a well-known educator and writer, and a veteran of cultural and publishing circles in China. Currently, he is holding such positions as vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee and director of the Central Research Institute of Culture and History. Zhou Jianren, former chairman of the Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, died on 29 July this year. [Text] [OW200203 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1438 GMT 19 Sep 84]

CSO: 4005/015

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF SICHUAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 84 p 2

[Report by Liu Ziyi [0491 1311 3015], Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Sichuan Provincial People's Congress, on 24 June 1984, at the Second Session of the Sixth Congress]

[Text] Deputies:

By request of Chairman Du Xinyuan [2629 1800 3293] and on behalf of the standing committee of the Sichuan provincial people's congress, I report on the work of the standing committee to the second session of the sixth congress for its consideration.

After the first session of the congress, the standing committee, in line with the tasks stipulated and powers granted it in the constitution and the "Local Rules of Organization," implemented the relevant resolutions and decisions of the first session and performed the following tasks.

#### I. Expediting the Propaganda and Enforcement of the Constitution and Laws

China's new constitution promulgated in 1982 is the basic law of the state and the general program to achieve the socialist modernization and construction and run the country. Formulated under the constitution, the laws of the state are the important guarantees to implement the constitution. Guaranteeing and supervising the enforcement of the constitution and laws are important functions of the local people's congresses of the various levels and their standing committees. After the first session of the sixth congress made the "Resolution Concerning the Intensive Unfolding of Activities to Study, Propagandize and Implement the Constitution," the departments concerned of the provincial level immediately made plans and demanded that all areas in the province, in the 40 days covering the last 10 days of June and the month of July, focus their effort on the propaganda and educational activities on socialist legality, centering on the constitution. Based on the opinions expressed at the chairmen's conference, the standing committee office of the provincial congress issued a notice, instructing that the standing committees

of the various municipal, prefectural and county congresses organize forces, actively take part in the activities and strengthen supervision and inspection. With the serious attention of the leading party and government organs of the various levels, all areas, in unfolding the activities, started from their own practical conditions, combined legal education with the various tasks, integrated the propaganda of the constitution with that of the various laws, coordinated legal education with law enforcement, trained large groups of backbone propaganda and lecturing personnel by all kinds of means, performed work deep among the masses in manifold forms, launched the activities in a vivid and lively manner and produced good results. By means of the propaganda and educational activities, all areas popularized the knowledge of the constitution and the laws, strengthened the legality concept of the vast number of cadres and masses, preliminarily spread the idea of "obeying the constitution and the laws" throughout the society and laid a sound ideological foundation for the thorough implementation of the constitution and the laws.

At its third session, the standing committee heard the report of the provincial judicial department on the province-wide educational activities centering on the constitution, and it affirmed the achievements. It found that propagandizing the constitution and the laws and deploying legal education among the vast number of cadres and masses, thereby enabling everyone to know and abide by the laws, constitute an important long-term task of the state organs. In view of the severe depredation of the socialist legality and morals and mores by the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the deep-seated influence of certain old concepts and old habits, we must, in connection with the various tasks, fully mobilize the masses and exert a long-range sustained effort before we can fulfill the basic demands of this important task. The meeting demanded that the local state organs of the various levels persevere in study and propaganda, so that everyone forms the habit of obeying the constitution and the laws and consciously combats violations.

In studying, propagandizing and implementing the constitution and the laws, the leading cadres of the various levels must serve as examples and models, especially in regard to acting strictly according to law and meting out punishment in case of violations. The local congresses of the various levels and their standing committees must earnestly perform their functions as the state power organs of the localities, defend the dignity of the constitution and the laws and struggle against all violations. In the past year or more, the standing committees of the local congresses of the various levels were solemn and earnest in acting according to law. However, violations also occurred in individual areas, mainly during the period of organizational reform. In the appointment and removal of standing committee members and government personnel, the standing committees of some areas failed to act in strict accordance with the provisions of the law and made improper or excessive appointments and removals of personnel which should have been individually appointed or removed. Once discovered, such issues were solved by appropriate measures: By means of studying,

some took the initiative to examine and correct the mistakes and others made rectifications upon instruction by the standing committee of the higher level. The standing committee of the provincial congress also did some work in this aspect. As pointed out by Chairman Peng Zhen, we must firmly enforce the constitution and the laws and act strictly according to them. Failing to act according to law is asking for trouble, and every correction of a violation is a profound legal education. These words have a positive significance in impelling the cadres and masses to study harder, propagandizing and implementing the constitution and the laws and enhancing the consciousness in their enforcement and observance.

## II. Performing Local Legislative Work and Formulating Local Laws and Regulations

Performing local legislative work is an important function assigned by the constitution to the standing committee of the provincial congress. After the first meeting of the sixth provincial congress, its standing committee formulated two local laws, deliberated and approved the special regulations of two minority autonomous prefectures and decided to submit the "Provisional Regulations on Sichuan's Afforestation (Draft)" to this congress for consideration.

At its first session, this congress decided to assign the proposal made by some deputies to formulate laws to protect women and children to the standing committee for action. After the close of the meeting, the chairmen's conference of the standing committee, after earnest consideration of the proposal, found that protecting the legitimate rights of women and children, developing the roles of women in building a socialist material and spiritual civilization and ensuring the healthy growth of children constitute an important issue in Sichuan requiring legislation, as well as a major matter linked with the socialist modernization and construction and the prosperity of the state and the nation, decided to immediately study the matter jointly with the organs concerned and drafted the "Provisions on Protecting the Legitimate Rights of Sichuan's Women and Children." The fourth meeting of the standing committee deliberated and passed this law, and promulgated it on 16 January 1984. In the activities launched last March during the propaganda month on protecting women and children, it was widely propagandized in all areas in the province and won the enthusiastic support of the masses, especially the broad masses of women. In the past few months, along with the vast number of cadres and masses, the women of Sichuan, with this law as a weapon, launched a firm struggle against the criminals injuring women and children.

In line with the "Election Law" revised by the Fifth National People's Congress and the "Provisions on Direct Elections of People's Congresses of the County Level and Below" passed at the 26th session of its standing committee, and according to the practical experience of the first direct election of the county and commune levels held in Sichuan in 1980, the

standing committee made revisions of Sichuan's "Regulations on Elections of People's Congresses of the County and Commune Levels" passed by the standing committee of the fifth provincial congress in August 1980. The third meeting of the standing committee deliberated and passed the "Regulations on the Election of Deputies to People's Congresses of the County and Township Levels in Sichuan" and promulgated them in October 1983, thereby creating conditions for the smooth progress of the elections of new congresses of the county and township levels held in the past winter and spring.

At its second session, the standing committee deliberated and approved the "Supplementary Regulations of the 'Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China' in force in the Aba Zang Autonomous Prefecture" submitted by the standing committee of the autonomous prefectural congress. At its fifth meeting, it deliberated and approved the "Flexible Regulations on the 'Election Law of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China and Local People's Congresses of the Various Levels' for the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture" submitted by the standing committee of the autonomous prefectural congress.

Afforestation is a great undertaking to improve Sichuan's ecology, build a socialist material and spiritual civilization, raise the people's living standard and the nationality qualities and benefit future generations. To expedite afforestation, it was necessary to formulate an appropriate law. At its seventh meeting, the standing committee deliberated and passed the "Provisional Regulations on the Afforestation of Sichuan (Draft)."

Pursuant to the decision of the first session of the sixth provincial congress, the standing committee created various work committees. Working actively, the work committees considered the drafting of local regulations and expressing opinions on draft laws and regulations submitted by the units concerned to the standing committee for consideration as their main functions. Consequently, the standing committee is equipped with regular work mechanism in its exercise of the legislative power granted it by the constitution, and local legislative work gradually became regular and systematic.

In local legislation, the standing committee started from Sichuan's actual conditions and practical needs and impelled the parties and departments concerned to study and propose their legislative plans, in order to exert a joint effort, perform the work properly and enable Sichuan's legislation to proceed according to plan and step by step. The provincial people's government made plans on economic legislation from 1983 to 1985, and is in the course of organizing the departments concerned to draft a batch of economic laws. The various minority autonomous areas are also in the course of making plans in order to gradually launch minority legislative work.



In deliberating and formulating local laws, the standing committee gave attention to investigation and study and widely heard the views of the various parties concerned, the basic level units and the vast number of cadres and masses. Before consideration by the standing committee, the draft regulations on the election of deputies to county and township congresses, provisions on protecting the legitimate rights of women and children and provisional regulations on afforestation were printed and distributed to the standing committees of the various city and prefectural congresses, the various prefectural administrative offices and the provincial departments concerned for their views. The work committees concerned also severally proceeded to the basic level to conduct surveys, hold forums and hear different views, so that the laws were formulated after fairly full consideration and are feasible and practical.

While proceeding with local legislation, the standing committee also gave attention to the supervision and inspection of the enforcement of local laws and to the reactions of all sides. Its work committees purposefully inspected the enforcement of the laws passed by the standing committee of the fifth people's congress and studied the new problems and new conditions encountered in the course thereof, in order to facilitate revisions and supplements at an appropriate time and make the laws more perfect.

In the past year or more, the standing committee, pursuant to the demands of the legal work committee of the National People's Congress standing committee, took part in deliberating the draft laws of the state, held forums for the provincial departments concerned and the basic level cadres and masses to discuss the "Self-Government Law of Minority Areas," "Military Service Law," "Statistics Law," "Patent Law" and "Water Pollution Control Law," a total of 10 draft laws, and widely solicited opinions. Its various work committees concerned also held special discussions, collected and collated the views of all sides on revisions and submitted them to the NPC standing committee.

### III. Hearing and Deliberating Government Work Reports and Deciding on Major Matters

In the past year or more, the standing committee heard and deliberated 15 work or situation reports of the provincial people's government and the departments concerned and made 10 resolutions and decisions.

In June last year, the party Central Committee and the State Council made the important decision to firmly prohibit arbitrarily hiking the prices of production means and arbitrarily apportioning expenses to the construction units and to concentrate financial and material resources on key projects. At its third session, the standing committee heard vice provincial governor Jiang Minkuan's [5592 3046 1401] situation report on concentrating financial and material resources on key projects and achieving the sustained

development of Sichuan's economy. Its members expressed satisfaction with Sichuan's achievements in fulfilling the instructions of the party Central Committee and the State Council and advanced views and suggestions on such issues as firmly prohibiting arbitrary price hikes of production means and arbitrary apportionment of expenses, rectifying the excessive dispersal of funds, improving the economic results and achieving the unity of results and speed. Giving serious attention to their views, the provincial people's government, in the course of its work, either adopted them or made corrections.

The specialized households which emerged in rural areas upon the introduction of the contract responsibility system linked with production and which served as leaders in working hard to get rich, developing commodity production and improving production technology, were newborn forces in rural development. The fifth session of the standing committee heard vice provincial governor Liu Chunfu's [0491 4783 1133] report on the continued stabilization and perfection of the rural contract responsibility system linked with production, active support of the specialized households and vigorous development of rural commodity production. It passed the "Resolution on Supporting, Protecting and Developing Rural Specialized Households" and instructed the governments of the various levels and the broad masses of cadres to correctly understand the importance of the specialized households in rural economic development, strengthen leadership and vigorously support the specialized households. The resolution emphasized that the legitimate rights of the specialized households must be protected and that no unit or individual may charge them with expenses not found in the provisions of laws and policies, resort to blackmail or extortion against them on any excuse or infringe their ownership of legitimate assets.

Last September, the NPC standing committee passed the "Decision on Severely Punishing Criminals Seriously Endangering Social Security" and the "Decision on the Procedure to Promptly Try Criminals Seriously Endangering Social Security." At its third session held in the last third of September, the standing committee studied the two decisions and heard provincial public security department chief Bai Shangwu's [4101 1424 2976] report on severely punishing the criminals and ensuring the smooth progress of the four modernizations drive. Its members declared that cracking down on crimes is the strong demand of the broad masses and that the handful of criminals committing murder, robbery, rape and bombing which seriously endangered social security and the safety of lives and property must be severely and promptly punished according to law. The meeting expressed satisfaction with the preliminary successes in Sichuan's struggle against criminal activities, passed the "Resolution on Severely Cracking down on Criminal Activities and Promptly Achieving the Basic Improvement of Social Security" and demanded that the people of all nationalities throughout the province take further action, advance on the momentum of success and wage a firm struggle to the final end. After the meeting, some members proceeded severally to some counties and cities in Neijiang, Lashan, Daxian, Wanxian and Fuling prefectures to inspect the implementation of the resolution and advanced views and suggestions on a number of legal issues emerging in the struggle against criminal activities in some areas.

Building a socialist spiritual civilization and combating spriritual pollution constitute a major matter linked with the future of the party and the state. At the fourth session of the standing committee, the provincial cultural, boradcasting and television, higher education, education, and public security departments made reports on the conditions of combating spiritual pollution and strengthening the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. The meeting emphatically pointed out that these constitute a momentous issue in today's ideological realm, that the standing committees of local people's congresses of the various levels must take an active interest, and that we must, with the constitution as the weapon, teach the people to uphold the four basic principles and build a socialist spiritual civilization.

The standing committee also heard the provincial government's report on thoroughly and concretely launching the afforestation movement and on the handling of the proposal to build an ecological screen on the mountains around the Sichuan Basin, a task assigned it by the first session of this congress, the provincial civil affair department's report on separating the government and the commune and creating experimental units of township political power, the student recruitment committee's report on the reform of Sichuan's college and technical secondary school student recruitment, the public health department's report on the reform of Sichuan's public health work, and the panda rescue leading group's report on the rescue and protection of pandas, and it made appropriate resolutions on some issues. It also made a decision on moving up the election dates of the people's congresses of Chengdu, Chongqing and Zigong and a decision on the time of election of county and township people's congresses. Some of its members in Chengdu heard the education department's report on investigating and prosecuting cases of insulting and beating middle and elementary school teachers, expressed their firm support of the actions taken and demanded the the departments concerned give earnest attention to the cases not yet investigated and firmly check the evil trend against teachers in some areas.

#### IV. Rendering Guidance on Election of County and Township People's Congresses

The terms of Sichuan's county and township people's congresses expired at the end of 1983. Pursuant to the resolution of the NPC standing committee, the second meeting of the standing committee decided to hold elections for the new congresses in the past winter and spring, but some areas were permitted to delay the completion of the elections till the end of 1984. Last October, the standing committee and the departments concerned called a joint work conference on electing new county and township people's congresses, made plans on the election work of the whole province and created an election work office for the county and township levels. The fifth session of the standing committee heard the provincial election work office's report on the progress of election work and the work of creating townships.

By 8 May, the elections of the county and township congresses of the 211 counties (cities, districts) throughout the province had concluded successfully. More than 95 percent of the voters in the province cast their votes and elected more than 55,000 county deputies and more than 510,000 township deputies. The new deputies are of a wide-ranging representativeness. Among those of the county level, there are personages from all fields and quarters, advanced figures in the four modernizations drive and reform work and representatives of rural specialized households who have worked hard to get rich. The proportions of intellectual and minority deputies all showed increases, and more than 20 percent of the deputies are women. The newly elected county and township congresses all held meetings and elected standing committee members, county and township government leaders and chiefs of county people's courts and procuratorates. More revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, the newly elected cadres are a tremendous improvement over those of the previous term.

As the county and township elections were held simultaneously and in conjunction with the work of separating the government and the commune, creating township governments and forming villagers' committees, the tasks were rather arduous. With the new conditions emerging after the general introduction of the rural responsibility system on top thereof, the work volume was increased. For this reason, the various areas strengthened the leadership of election work and the leading party and government organs concentrated on it as a central task for a period. As a whole, the election work was very successful and better than the first direct county elections in 1980. The various areas trained and organized contingents, adopted flexible and manifold methods, widely propagandized to the broad masses the importance of serving as masters of the country, properly electing the deputies and actively exercising their democratic rights, generally educated the broad masses of cadres on acting strictly according to law and improved their legal concept. In regard to the phenomenon of failing to act according to law in a handful of areas, the standing committees of the county congresses and the county election committees promptly took legal measures and ensured the smooth progress of election work. The various areas fully developed democracy, followed the mass line, respected the will of the people and ensured the full exercise of the voters' democratic rights.

In addition, after the first session of this congress, the standing committee appointed according to law the secretary general of the provincial government, the various department and bureau chiefs and the chairmen of committees, and appointed and removed, or approved the appointment and removal, of cadres of courts and procuratorates. In the course thereof, it upheld the standards of the cadre "four-modernization." In the past year or more, it acted on some of the suggestions, criticisms and opinions of the deputies at the first meeting, handled the people's letters and visits and improved contacts with the provincial people's deputies and the standing committees of local people's congresses. It received the China relations delegation of the (European Council), the delegation of Japan's Hiroshima prefectural diet and the Colombian parliamentary delegation, and launched some foreign affairs activities.

Deputies! There are still many shortcomings in our work, which still falls short of the demands of the state and the people. Though we performed some work, some of our tasks are still inadequate. We are, for instance, still inadequate in maintaining regular contact among the various deputies and with the standing committees of the various local congresses, in organizing the standing committees of the various local congresses to exchange experiences, in promptly answering the questions on law applications and legal procedures raised by the various areas, in helping the standing committees of the various local congresses solve certain practical difficulties, etc. We are not sufficiently thorough, comprehensive and systematic in investigation and study, and we still fall short of the needs of the standing committee in its deliberations. In supervising and inspecting the enforcement of state laws and local regulations, we are still weak in our work. Our administrative bodies are not sound enough and their efficiency not high. All these must be vigorously improved. On 28 May this year, Chairman Peng Zhen gave an important speech on the work of people's congresses and made penetrating expositions on their nature and tasks and the characteristics and methods of their work. We must, in line with the spirit and demands of his speech and in conjunction with our work conditions, earnestly summarize our experiences, improve our work, perform even more successfully the functions assigned us by the constitution, conscientiously implement the various resolutions of this congress and exert a greater effort in developing socialist democracy, strengthening socialist legality, furthering the reforms of all sides, promoting a socialist material and spiritual civilization and achieving as soon as possible Sichuan's demand for "rich peasants" and "escalation."

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE OF SICHUAN CPPCC COMMITTEE

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 84 p 2

[Report of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Sichuan CPPCC Committee by Pan Dakui [3382 1129 6652] on 19 June 1984 at the Second Session of the CPPCC Committee (Excerpts)]

[Text] It has been more than a year since the first session of the fifth Sichuan CPPCC committee. During the interval, the people of all nationalities throughout the province, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the leadership of the Sichuan provincial party committee, united as one, worked hard to make the country strong, toiled assiduously for a new phase of Sichuan's socialist modernization and construction and made great achievements. Industrial and agricultural production throughout the province further increased, the people's material and cultural lives made new improvements, the work of building a socialist spiritual civilization and combating spiritual pollution made a tremendous progress, the party style and social mores gradually improved, and the stable and united political situation continued to consolidate and develop. A vigorous scene also emerged on the patriotic united front. Sichuan's various democratic parties and federations of industry and commerce successively held congresses, summarized past experiences, proposed future policies and tasks and made new strides in serving the four modernizations drive and unifying the motherland. The China Zhi Gong Dang formed the Sichuan provincial work committee and actively launched work among the returned overseas Chinese and their families. During this interval, this committee, together with the CPPCC of the various cities, prefectures and counties made new progresses in achieving the three great tasks of the eighties centering on economic construction. In the past year or more, this committee mainly performed work in the following aspects:

#### Strengthening Political Consultation; Developing Democratic Supervision

First, we reinforced the substance of political consultation and supervision. We fairly extensively launched discussions on the major policies and principles of the state, the important issues of building the two civilizations, the united front and mass life, and the drafts of certain provincial laws and regulations. At the fifth session of this committee and its many forums, we listened to provincial party committee secretary

Yang Rudai's [2799 3067 1486] speech on the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th Party Congress and the 2d enlarged full session of the 4th provincial party committee, relayed assistant provincial party committee secretary Nie Ronggui's [5119 2837 6311] talk on the policy demarcation between party consolidation and elimination of spiritual pollution and heard reports by the responsible comrades of provincial departments concerned on Sichuan's current economic situation and the main tasks of 1984, implementation of the party Central Committee's Document No 1 of 1984, fulfillment of the united front policy, and higher institutions of learning. We discussed the "Birth Control Law of the PRC (Second Draft)," "Self-Government Law of Minority Areas of the PRC (Draft)" and "Provisions on Protecting the Legitimate Rights of Sichuan's Women and Children (Draft)." Next, to further clear the channels of consultation and supervision, this committee strengthened contacts with the provincial people's congress and government and the departments concerned, exchanged views on unfolding consultative and supervisory work and agreed on the specific methods. The people's congress and government and departments concerned all rendered us active support. Thirdly, we increased the forms of consultation and supervision. Pursuant to the relevant provisions among the rules of the CPPCC, besides the annual full session, we held quarterly standing committee meetings and monthly chairmen's meetings and attended the relevant meetings called by the standing committee of the provincial people's congress. For the purpose of sharing information, exchanging experiences, adjusting relations, strengthening cooperation and earnestly developing CPPCC's role as the headquarters of the united front, this year we created the system of bimonthly forums for the democratic parties and nonparty figures and joint meetings of the provincial CPPCC and the secretary generals of the various democratic parties and industrial and commercial federations under the joint sponsorship of the provincial CPPCC and the united front department of the provincial party committee.

Through the consultation and discussion of the above issues, the figures in all fields not only learned the party and government principles and policies, understood the situations and tasks of the various fronts and enhanced their sense of responsibility and enthusiasm in the four modernizations program, but also, with an earnest and responsible attitude, advanced many useful opinions and suggestions and pooled the wisdom of the masses on improving the party and the government. To expedite the handling of the committee members' proposals, the third meeting of the standing committee decided to form a proposal work committee as a permanent structure. After the first full session, we received a total of 236 proposals which, with our effort and the vigorous support of the departments concerned, have all been basically acted on.

## Assisting in Fulfilling the United Front Policies; Raising Enthusiasm in the Four Modernizations Drive

Pursuant to the instructions and plans of the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee, last year this committee assisted the departments concerned in fulfilling the various united front policies, with special emphasis on the policies of the CPPCC. First, together with the united front department of the provincial party committee, the various democratic parties, industrial and commercial federations, the public security department, courts and civil affairs department, we jointly organized seven policy implementation inspection groups which severally proceeded to Chongqing, Mianyang, Yibin, Aba, Wanxian, Dukou and Daxian, a total of 17 cities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures to inspect the policy implementation of the various areas. When the inspection group of the national CPPCC came to Sichuan, this committee actively cooperated with it, held a forum of the national CPPCC members in Chongqing and provincial members, totaling more than 100 persons, and relayed the problems raised by them to the units concerned for handling. Thereafter, the party organization of the provincial CPPCC and the united front department of the provincial party committee issued a joint announcement, requesting that all areas make a general inspection of policy implementation case by case. Our various work groups also held forums on the implementation of the intellectuals policy, the policy on our Taiwan compatriots and their families and the policy on former industrialists and businessmen, reported the conditions of implementation to the departments concerned and expressed views and made suggestions. Not long ago, committee chairman Yang Chao [2799 6389] and others visited such units as the Southwest Teachers' College and Southwest Agricultural College to inspect the implementation of the intellectuals policy and discussed with the party committee the solution of the problems. Several vice chairmen separately visited Chongqing, Neijiang, Jianyang and Renshou to inspect the implementation of CPPCC policies. To further implement the policies of the CPCCs of the various levels, we, pursuant to the party Central Committee leaders' instruction to "focus on policy implementation; take the initiative to solve the problems" and the spirit of the forum on policy implementation held by the national CPPCC and the Central United Front Department and with the approval of the provincial party committee, formed jointly with the provincial united front department a policy implementation office in charge of fulfilling the CPPCC policies of the various levels and the various united front policies. On the basis of the achievements already made in recent years, we solved the pending problem of some members, such as returning their seized assets and confiscated houses and redressing the unjust, false and wrong cases. After policy implementation, some members became very excited and rushed around to share the news. They all expressed their determination to contribute their strengths to make the country strong and unify the motherland.



## Serving Sichuan's Four Modernizations Program by Special Subject Investigations and Forums

Centering on the general tasks and general goals proposed by the 12th Party Congress and the proposal of the fourth provincial party congress to quadruple Sichuan's total industrial and agricultural output value by the end of the century and strive to surpass the strategic goal, this committee adopted manifold forms and developed the positive roles of its members and the figures in all fields in Sichuan's four modernizations drive. Pursuant to the instructions of the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee to launch investigations and studies of rural developmental strategies, we successively investigated the growth of rural specialized households, popularization of science and promotion of small hydroelectric stations by the masses in Dayi county, the construction of the Yaan mountain region and the spread of universal education in Neijiang prefecture. Containing timely reflections of some important conditions and useful opinions, the investigation reports received the serious attention of the departments concerned. In conjunction with the experimental units of urban system reform, we studied the reform of teacher training in Chongqing city and that of commerce and the food and beverage industry in Chengdu, and included details, analyses and suggestions in our reports to the provincial party committee. After the party committee proposed that this year we concentrate on "rich peasants" and "escalation," our work groups on economics, science and technology, education, medicine and health, industry and commerce, women, legality, minority religion, and culture and sports actively responded to the appeal, held special subject forums for suggestions and advices, and submitted numerous constructive views and suggestions to the party committee and the departments concerned on developing rural specialized households, promoting commodity production, opening inland river navigation, welcoming the new technical revolution and promoting the dominance of military projects. To solve the irrigation problem of the middle Sichuan basin, the largest granary in Sichuan's hinterland, we invited more than 10 experts and professors for several scientific demonstration meetings and wrote a report entitled "An Exploration into the Solution of the Irrigation Problem of the Dry Land in Middle Sichuan." The provincial government commented that "the CPPCC's comprehensive suggestions deserve study" and immediately asked the provincial planned economy commission and hydroelectric department to study the project. In regard to the long-standing problem of the rotting core of Sichuan's Maowen apples, we sent scientific and technical personnel to the apple producing areas to render consultative services and analyze from many aspects the causes, and a report on the solution was submitted to the party committee.

Committee secretary Yang Rudai instructed: "The agricultural scientific research branch is requested to organize a task force and solve the rotting core problem of the apples. The agricultural and livestock branch is requested to strengthen its leadership of apple production in minority areas and develop the superiority." The departments concerned are in the course of solving the problem in line with Comrade Yang Rudai's instructions. After

the party committee made the appeal to promote traditional medicine, this committee organized the personages concerned to investigate and study. Their special report was favorably received by the province-wide work meeting on traditional medicine, fully affirmed by the leaders of the public health department and praised by the responsible comrades of the provincial government for doing a good deed for the Sichuan people.

#### Properly Performing the Work toward Taiwan; Contributing Strengths for the Unification of the Motherland

Pursuant to the principles and policies of the party Central Committee, this committee further strengthened the propaganda toward Taiwan, gradually built a propaganda writing group with our members as the main body and, through various channels and by manifold forms, propagated the principles and policies of peaceful reunification and Sichuan's tremendous achievements in economic and cultural constructions. In the past year, we sent out successively a total of 123 pictures and manuscripts, and 70 of them were adopted. Some manuscripts were published in BEIMEI RIBAO and Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO, and others were assessed as excellent propaganda material for Taiwan. We also compiled and printed one volume of selected "Historical Anecdotes" and the selected 1983 manuscripts of propaganda to Taiwan, No 2, for reference by the propaganda branch. During this period, we surveyed and clarified the conditions of our members' relatives in Taiwan and actively promoted visits and contacts between the people on the two shores of the strait. We helped some people go to Hong Kong and meet with their Taiwan relatives and assisted the departments concerned to locate the mainland relatives of overseas Chinese. Alongside the departments concerned, we took part in receiving our compatriots from Taiwan, Hong Kong-Macao and overseas and helped them increase their understanding of the principles and policies of peaceful reunification.

#### Organizing Studies, Visits and Inspections; Promoting Understanding of the Party's Line, Principles and Policies

Pursuant to the plans of the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee, we continued to organize our members and the figures in all fields to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, current affairs and politics, and scientific knowledge. Our study committee systematically organized our members and the figures in all fields to study further the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the spirit of the 6th NPC, the first session of the national CPPCC and the provincial party congress, people's congress and CPPCC, and the important documents and speeches of the party Central Committee and provincial party committee and their leaders, particularly the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and the documents of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th Party Congress. Early this year, we organized everyone to earnestly study the Party Central Committee's Document No 1 (1984) and, in conjunction thereto, invited the responsible comrades of the units concerned to give special subject guidance lectures. During the study, under the guidance of the four basic principles and in close

connection with the ideological and work realities, we helped everyone gradually increase their understanding of the party's line, principles and policies since its Third Plenary Session and maintain their political and ideological unity with the party Central Committee. Meanwhile, together with the various democratic parties and industrial and commercial federations of the provincial level, the Chengdu Municipal CPPCC and the units concerned, we jointly held lectures on the new constitution, science and technology, medicine and public health, and literature and art and won the favorable reaction of the broad audience. To contact reality and broaden our outlook, we organized some vice chairmen and standing committee members of the provincial CPPCC and the responsible persons of the various democratic parties to make observation trips to Guangdong, Guangxi, Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia. After his trip to the Northeast, committee chairman Yang Chao submitted to the provincial party committee a report entitled "Learn the Experiences of the Three Northeast Provinces; Vigorously Initiate a New Phase in Sichuan's CPPCC Work." The party committee forwarded the report to the various areas for study and implementation, thereby effectively promoting political consultative work throughout the province. Pursuant to the decision of our chairmen's meeting, we organized, before the convention of this full meeting, our members to make on-the-spot observations and helped everyone further understand the importance of implementing the party Central Committee's Document No. 1 (1984) in rural areas, hastening the urban economic reform and fulfilling the united front policies in the various areas, especially the policies of the CPPCC.

#### Vigorously Launching the Work of Collecting, Collating and Publishing Historical Materials

At its fourth historical materials work conference last September, the national CPPCC posed the demand to raise high the patriotic banner and initiate a new phase in historical materials work. At the third standing committee meeting, our vice chairman Zhou Yi [0719 7328] promptly relayed the spirit of the conference, and our historical materials study committee formulated accordingly long-range and short-term plans. At our second provincial historical materials work meeting last May, we further studied the spirit of the conference, exchanged experiences and deliberated the issue of initiating a new phase in Sichuan's historical materials work. In the past year, with the patriotic banner as our guiding ideology, we made new progresses in our work. We assembled 628 pieces of new materials on military affairs, politics, economics, culture and revolutionary history, totaling about 3.56 million words. We published Issues Nos 28 to 31 of "Selections of Sichuan's Historical Materials" and have completed and sent to the publisher Nos 32 to 34. During this period, we sent to the national CPPCC publication our catalogue of manuscripts from 1959 to 1982 and a statistical chart of manuscripts of the various historical periods, recommended 28 superior works and took part in the evaluation of superior works of 1984 organized by the provincial federation of social sciences.

### Strengthening Contact with Municipal, Prefectural and County CPPCCs

To further strengthen our contact with the municipal, prefectural and county CPPCCs, after the issuance of provincial party committee Document No 60, we promptly held a work forum attended by the responsible persons of 80 local CPPCCs and united front departments, exchanged experiences and studied the issue of initiating a new phase in Sichuan's political consultative work. Afterward, a more lively atmosphere emerged in the work of many areas. By means of publications and bulletins, we propagandized and introduced the conditions and experiences of political consultative work in many areas.

### Strengthening Ideological and Organizational Constructions in Conjunction with Organizational Reform and Party Consolidation

During the period before and after the start of the new term, pursuant to the unified planning of the provincial party committee, the organs of this committee launched organizational reform and readjusted and replenished our leading groups and affairs handling structures. In line with the principle of democratic centralism, we created and strengthened various systems on meetings and work. After the start of the CPC's party consolidation, we organized the party and nonparty cadres of our organs to study fairly systematically the party's line, principles and policies since its Third Plenary Session, especially the instructions and documents of the party Central Committee and provincial party committee relevant to the united front and political consultative work, and helped everyone further purge the "leftist" ideological influence and improve the policy and ideological levels and professional ability.

Meanwhile, pursuant to the demand of simultaneous consolidation and reform, we adopted some necessary methods and measures in regard to improving the labor division and cooperation of the leading groups, reinforcing our coordination with the various democratic parties and industrial and commercial federations, adjusting the work and activities of the committee and groups and maintaining a close contact with the various local CPPCCs.

Currently, we are in the course of accelerating the system reform, opening our doors wider to the outside and welcoming the new economic prosperity and technical revolution. The development of the situation has posed higher demands on the work of the CPPCC. All our work must serve and be subordinated to the socialist economic construction. Our tasks hereafter are: Under the guidance of the line of the 12th Party Congress, earnestly implement the spirit of the second session of the sixth NPC and national CPPCC, actively answer the call of the Sichuan provincial party committee and, for the purpose of achieving the general goals of the 12th Party Congress, rally all nationalities and figures in all fields throughout the province to reform courageously, open the doors boldly, exert a vigorous effort for "rich peasants" and "escalation," pioneer and advance, and make greater

contributions to initiating a new phase in the work of Sichuan. This committee must fully exploit the talents gathered in the CPPCC and strive for Sichuan's economic prosperity. We must earnestly follow the spirit of Premier Zhao Ziyang's "Government Work Report" at the second session of the sixty NPC, firmly stress system reform and opening to the outside, the two major undertakings, in economic work, and serve as promoters of reform. Our various committees and work groups must continue to organize special forums for advices and suggestions on "rich peasants" and "escalation," launch down-to-earth special investigations on such issues as hastening the reforms of the urban economic system, science and technology, education, and the economic and cultural construction of "old, outlying and sparsely inhabited" areas," and submit views and suggestions on promoting the beneficial and eliminating the harmful. We must vigorously support the CPPCC members and industrial and commercial federations and widely establish connections and build bridges, recruit capital, technology and talents and accelerate the strides of Sichuan's four modernization construction. We must exert our effort to the final end in implementing the policies of the CPPCC, further activate the enthusiasm of all sides, continue to make policy implementation a key task in 1984, assist the departments concerned and do well from start to finish. In fulfilling the policies, we must properly handle the assets of nonparty figures seized during the "Cultural Revolution," enforce the policy on private housing, and wind up the political and historical loose ends. Pursuant to the announcement "On the Sphere of Transmitting Documents of the Party Central Committee and Municipal Party Committee to Nonparty Figures" issued to Shanghai by the Central United Front Department, we must concretely solve the issue of information made available to the CPPCC members of the various levels. We must send investigation groups under leading comrades to the various areas to inspect, supervise and expedite policy implementation, strengthen contact with our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong-Macao and abroad and promote the early achievement of the unification of the motherland. We must assist the departments concerned to perform properly the propaganda work toward Taiwan and, in all forms and at all opportunities, propagate the principles and policies of unification. This year is the 35th anniversary of the founding of the new China. We must emphatically propagandize Sichuan's tremendous achievements in constructions of all kinds in the past 3 decades or more, increase the centripetal force of our Taiwan compatriots toward the mainland and promote the success of the unification cause. We must increase contact with our Taiwan, Hong Kong-Macao and overseas compatriots, and assist the departments concerned in facilitating visits and correspondence between the Taiwan people and their mainland relatives and in receiving our Taiwan, Hong Kong-Macao and overseas compatriots coming to the mainland to visit relatives and friends, give lectures and pursue advanced studies.

In raising high the patriotic banner and further unfolding the work of collecting and collating historical materials, we must uphold the viewpoint of historical materialism and the principle of seeking the truth from the facts. While continuing our effort to collect, "salvage" and

compile historical materials, we must collate and study them systematically and by special subjects, collect from the outside, make preparations for publication and give full attention to materials of a referential nature in promoting the great unity and unification of the nation and benefiting Sichuan's economic prosperity, "rich peasants" and "escalation." We must vigorously organize our members and figures in all fields to study political theories, current affairs and policies, and modern scientific and cultural knowledge. At present, we must focus on the study of the major documents of the second meetings of the sixty NPC and CPPCC, especially Premier Zhao Ziyang's "Government Work Report" and Chairman Deng Yinchao's important speech, help everyone recognize the momentous significance of hastening the strides of reform and opening the doors wider to the outside, develop the fine traditions and styles of political consultation, democratic supervision, cooperation and working together, making a wide circle of friends, and self-education formed over a long period of united front work and, with the spirit of reform, continue to unfold a new phase on all fronts and in political consultative work. Meanwhile, we must continue to organize all kinds of special subject lectures to popularize modern economics and scientific and technical knowledge, and help everyone improve his modern scientific and cultural levels. We must strengthen the theoretical studies and propaganda education of the united front and political consultation, widely report and propagandize in manifold forms the achievements and experiences of the CPPCC, the various democratic parties and the figures in all fields in serving the four modernizations drive, and continuously improve, on the basis of integrating theory and practice, the knowledge of the broad cadres and masses of the nature, position and role of the united front and the CPPCC.

We must continue to strengthen the ideological and organizational constructions of the organs, vigorously improve our work style, overcome bureaucracy and enhance efficiency. In our work, we must further purge the "Leftist" ideological influence, vigorously develop the fine traditions and styles of the united front, give special attention to cooperation between people inside and outside the party and fully develop the positive roles of the nonparty comrades.

This year is the 35th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Let us, under the leadership of the provincial party committee and the guidance of the CPPCC national committee, continue to unfold a new phase of the united front and political consultative work, unite as one, struggle vigorously, make new contributions to achieving the general goals proposed by the 12th Party Congress, building a socialist material and spiritual civilization and completing the three great tasks of the eighties and nineties, and welcome the 35th anniversary of the nation by our practical acts.

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY OF NEW PARTY MEMBERS REPORTED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Mei Songwu [2734 2646 2976]: "Noticeable Improvement Seen in the Quality of Newly Admitted Party Members"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, more than 190,000 new party members have been admitted into the party by party organizations at all levels throughout the province. The quality of these new party members is relatively good. More than 44,000 among them are professional and technical personnel and the overwhelming majority of them are the backbone of all walks of life. Approximately half of them have been chosen as outstanding party members, advanced workers or model workers. Many of them have been promoted to leading posts in organizational reform.

After the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party committees and organizational departments at all levels throughout the province have, in recruiting new party members, exerted efforts to surmount "leftist" interference and other forms of resistance and to recruit a member as soon as that person is qualified for party membership in strict accordance with membership qualifications stipulated in the constitution of the party, thereby ensuring the quality of the newly admitted party members. The Daxian Prefectural Cotton Textile Weaving and Dyeing Mill party committee has conscientiously done a good job in recruiting new party members on the front line of production and has recruited 102 new party members over the past 5 years including 73 belonging to the front line of production. These 73 new party members have brought the exemplary vanguard role into full play in production. Some of them have been chosen as national shock workers in the New Long March or provincial and prefectural model workers. A total of 57 people received rewards for their meritorious services, 67 assumed posts as team or group heads and 14 were elected at the plenary session of the party branch and approved by the party committee at the upper level to be workshop party branch secretaries or were promoted to be workshop directors. The party committee of the Primary Steel Rolling Mill of the Pan Zhi-Hua Iron and Steel Company has paid attention to recruiting new party members from among the middle-aged and young intellectuals. As a result, 48 percent of the intellectuals of the whole mill are now party members. The overwhelming majority of the new party members among the teachers of the Chengdu

Institute of Telecommunications Engineering are the backbone of mathematical and scientific research. Many of them have succeeded in bringing about creations and inventions. Some of them have assumed posts as heads of colleges, departments or institutions. Two professors have been transferred to assume posts as deans, respectively, of the Hangzhou and the Guilin Institutes of the Electronics Industry. The overwhelming majority of new party members recruited from among students are "students with three good qualities" chosen from the outstanding cadres of various classes or leagues. The Xiaoshui District party committee of Yingshan County recruited 39 new party members from among the peasants, of whom 33 are young peasants under the age of 35, 36 are senior or junior middle school graduates, 35 are cadres of production brigades or teams or are the backbone of teachers of schools run by local people and 19 have already become key households or professional households who have become rich through hard work.

New party members admitted into the party over the past few years have added fresh blood to party organizations at all levels throughout the province. At present, there are a total of 3.3 million CPC members in the whole province, of whom women make up 13.5 percent, minorities 3.25 percent and intellectuals 6.1 percent. Tens of thousands of activists throughout the province have filed their applications for party membership.

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS PUSH EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jun 84 p 2

[Article by staff reporter: "Educational Reform Is Must"]

[Text] At the Second Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee, this reporter visited three members of the committee working on the educational front and asked them to discuss questions associated with educational reform.

Reform in Education Must Attain the Goal of Developing More Talent and Developing It Quickly.

Li Guorun [2621 0948 3387], member of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee and professor of the Department of Hydraulic Engineering of Chengdu University of Science and Technology, said that in the European countries as well as in the United States and Japan, a university professor teaches more than 30 students, while in our country, there are only 5 to 6 students taught by a professor. Comparatively speaking, we have trained too little talent. The key to judging whether the reform in education carried out in a school is successful or not lies in whether it can achieve the goal of developing more talent and developing it quickly. The same can be applied to judging a teacher. We have to see whether a student cultivated by him can play a proper role in our constructions after being assigned to work in a unit. So it is with the students. When you graduate from a school, if the place where you are assigned to work at is not willing to accept you, can you say you are successful in study? For this reason, in order to make people useful it is necessary to combine education with the realities of the development of production. Teachers must lead students of the graduating class to go deep into the realities of life to do design work and to practice. This will be advantageous to improving the quality of teaching, to achieving results and to developing talent.

Reform in Education Must Be Combined with the Implementation of the Policy on Intellectuals

Luo Yiran [2867 1837 3544], member of the Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee and former deputy secretary of the party committee

of Chongqing Institute of Construction Engineering and former deputy dean of the institute, said that the reform in education must be integrated with the implementation of the policy on intellectuals. In recent years, our party has done tremendous work in implementing the policy on intellectuals, has reversed many wrong verdicts and has improved the working and living conditions of intellectuals. Their enthusiasm has thus improved. However, we must also see to the fact that at present, the problem of not paying enough respect to intellectuals still exists. For instance, affairs which should be handled by the head of a department are taken over by the secretary of the general party branch of the department. Or, party cadres veto professors' suggestions for handling affairs. Secretaries of party committees and general party branches should not interfere with the duties of professors. The work of a party committee should concentrate on the implementation of the party's guiding principles and policies, on political-ideological work, on school spirit and on style of study. At present, professional households in the rural areas look like the Eight Immortals crossing the sea, each one showing his or her special prowess. I feel that schools must also delegate powers to the department heads and professors to act on their own in order to untie their hands so that they can show their special prowess and bring their roles into play. In so doing, the policy on intellectuals will also be further implemented.

We Must Attach Importance to Liberal Arts and Carry out Reform in Liberal Arts.

Tong Enzheng [4547 1869 2973], member of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee and associate professor specializing in archaeology at the Department of History of Sichuan University, said that the liberal arts are important. Talents cultivated in the liberal arts occupy a decisive position in the revitalization of China and in the construction of the four modernizations. Political economy has a bearing on the success or failure of the economic construction of the state, and the theories of Marxism-Leninism involve the question of our directions and paths. So far as institutional reform itself is concerned, it is not possible to do a good job if we do not have a higher ideological, theoretical or political level or if we do not have a knowledge of political economy. At present, the allocation of funds, materials and teaching personnel in schools indicates that the stress is placed on science but not on the liberal arts. It is wrong in doing things this way. Branches of learning are interacting. It is impossible to improve science and engineering if the liberal arts are neglected. Therefore, the trend of neglecting the liberal arts must be ended.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

THOROUGH NEGATION OF 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION' URGED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Thoroughly Negate 'Cultural Revolution,' Resolutely Overcome Factionalism"]

[Text] The team of the provincial party committee for guiding party consolidation has, in the light of the problems that have emerged during party consolidation, decided that all units of organizations at the provincial level should concentrate for a period of time on conducting extensive education for party members in order to negate thoroughly the "Great Cultural Revolution." This is absolutely necessary.

Only until we thoroughly negate the "Cultural Revolution" can we thoroughly negate factionalism. History has shown that the "Cultural Revolution" was a period of domestic turmoil which was initiated by a leader laboring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counterrevolutionary cliques and which thereby brought catastrophe to the party, the state and the whole people. It was not a revolution or social progress in any sense and it was impossible for it to be so. The two factions in the "Cultural Revolution," no matter what banner they flaunted or what call they responded to at that time, were completely wrong. They have to be thoroughly negated. Viewed from the overall and the guiding ideology, the two factions, no matter what units they belong to, were spurious in boosting "revolution" but were sincere in scrambling for power and profit. No matter what their faction, they both fell consciously or unconsciously into the trap of the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Bao and Jiang Qing. Both of these factions engaged in some stupid activities including ruthless and merciless blows. Just as the "Cultural Revolution" has been thoroughly negated and likewise the two factions, could there still be a question of right or wrong in struggles between these two factions during the "Cultural Revolution?" Could there still be any reason for the people who have participated in struggles between the two factions to speak in defence of their own mistakes? Comrades who incurred hatred in struggles between these two factions in the past must proceed from party character, remove previous resentments and forget about old enmities in order to take advantage of the opportunity of party consolidation to have heart-to-heart talks, to lay their hearts bare and to carry out criticism and self-criticism so that mutual understanding can

be reached and normal relationships between comrades can be restored.

Conducting an education to negate thoroughly the "Cultural Revolution" can help all party members, particularly the young comrades who joined the party since the "Cultural Revolution," understand deeply the harmfulness of factionalism and thereby strengthen their party character and conscientiously resist and overcome factionalism. Like factionalism during the "Cultural Revolution," factionalism at present is still the chief enemy of party character which seriously endangers the unity of the party and jeopardizes the implementation of the line, guiding principles and policies of the party even though it is presently only a kind of residue. Party character cannot be enhanced as long as factionalism has not been eliminated. Party members and cadres must take a clear-cut stand to resist and overcome factionalism. It is not advisable to take a negative attitude toward factional problems in one's own unit and it is not permitted to "treat people with indifference."

If the "leftist" theories and methods employed during the "Cultural Revolution" are not thoroughly negated, it will be impossible for us to have the current line, guiding principles and policies or the political stability and unity as well as the new aspect of a thriving economy of today. The "leftist" ideology in some people's minds has not yet been thoroughly removed. They, therefore, have resentments against the present institutional reform and the policy of opening to the outside world and hold a skeptical attitude toward the party's line, guiding principles and policies. Some of them even take advantage of factionalism to interfere or to resist. In party consolidation, to conduct an education for all party members to negate the "Cultural Revolution" thoroughly is actually to help those comrades who have not yet been liberated from the restraints of the "leftist" ideology emancipate their minds and correctly understand and implement the party's line, guiding principles and policies in order to realize further a high degree of ideological and political consistency throughout the party. Our purpose is not to get entangled with matters of the past, not to "punish somebody," but to unify our ideology in order to carry out our work with nothing on our conscience.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

SICHUAN CPPCC SEES UNITED FRONT WORK THRIVING

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter: "Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee Holds Panel Discussions on United Front Work"]

[Text] The Second Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee held panel discussions the whole day of 20 June on the report relaying the spirit of the Second Session of the Sixth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the report of the work of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee and the report on motions proposed at the Fifth Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee.

In their speeches, members of the committee expressed the unanimous opinion that things which are thriving and full of vitality have taken on a new aspect on the patriotic united front in our country. Ran Ruitu [0393 3843 0956], member of the standing committee (director of the Research Office of Liver, Gall Bladder and Pancreas, Department of Medical Science, Sichuan Medical College), said, "After listening to the work reports, I feel that the Consultative Committee has added several new contents: first, I attended a few consultative forums organized by the consultative committee during the past year and listened to reports of relevant leading cadres of the government which have enabled me to understand more about the situation. I feel that the consultative committee has done a good job. Second, many new work teams have been set up. In the past, the consultative committee never had work teams of this kind. Although our consultative committee is not an organ of power, it is still able to play a democratic role. Shu Guofan [5289 0948 5672], the newly appointed member of the consultative committee (member of the Commission of Culture and History of the Provincial Consultative Committee), said that at present, no matter whether it is in the whole country or in the whole province, a new and heartening aspect has emerged. I am deeply moved and have an intimate knowledge of it. First, the united front work in the new era has bright prospects, especially since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC National Congress has added new substance and entrusted new tasks to the united front. We must do united front work well and unswervingly uphold the CPC's leadership. Second, the central task of the consultative committee is to promote economic construction. The provincial consultative committee has done a relatively good job in this

respect. For instance, the consultative committee in the past organized consultative services for the three prefectures of Garze, Aba and Liangshan and also organized the people of all walks of life to suggest ways and means. All this has in a better way brought to bear the superiority of the consultative committee in its accumulation of knowledge."

Many members talked glowingly about the domestic, diplomatic and united front situations in our country. They all left greatly encouraged and said that they will suggest more ways and means in order to make more contributions to the vitalization of the economy in Sichuan. Committee member Chen Daochong [7115 6670 0339] (senior engineer of the Xindu Machinery Plant) said that science and technology is forging rapidly ahead at the present in our country, especially because the successful launching of the communications satellite in the recent past has indicated that the gap between the world's advanced standard and ours has been narrowed. The development of science and technology is bound to help the development of all other undertakings. As a worker in the field of science and technology, I must make more contributions to vitalizing the economy in our province and to "making people richer" and "promoting people to a higher level." Committee member Zhang Dingming [1728 7844 6900] (professor, Department of Mathematics, University of Sichuan) said "After hearing the report relay the spirit of the Second Session of the Sixth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, I feel that Chairwoman Deng Yingchao's speech is very intimate and that my heart is rejoicing. I must suggest more ways and means for the construction of the four modernizations. I must have deep love for our party and act as the party's expostulatory friend. I believe that our country must pay attention to principal contradictions and to achieving great order across the land. Only when there is great order across the land, can the construction in our country flourish."

When taking the floor, some members also put forward valuable ideas and suggestions. Committee member Zhang Yang [1728 2254] (associate professor at the Chengdu University of Science and Technology) said that the three prefectures of Garze, Aba and Liangshan are rich in the resource of hides. We must do our best to develop the tannery industry. Utilizing sheepskin to make apparel has a bright future. We must think highly of it.

In view of the fact that the cultural and educational undertakings in the minority regions are relatively backward, that there is a lack of technical force and that very few college students are assigned to work in these regions, I feel that we must strengthen our efforts to recruit students at fixed points in these regions in order to alter quickly the situation of the shortage of technical personnel and the backwardness of these three prefectures.

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### DETECTING, CULTIVATING COURAGEOUS PEOPLE URGED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Fu Yugui [0265 7183 6311]: "Readjust and Strengthen Leadership During Party Rectification"]

[Text] Organizations at the provincial level must pay attention to detecting and cultivating talented people who are bold in carrying out reform and promote outstanding cadres who accord with the demands of the cadre's "four modernizations" to leading posts. This is an important matter which Comrades Yang Rudai [2799 3067 1486] and Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311] repeatedly emphasized at the work conference of organizations at the provincial level on party rectification convened on 15 June.

When talking about grasping firmly the building of the leading groups during party rectification, Comrade Nie Ronggui analyzed the situations of leading party groups in organizations at the provincial level. He said that, generally speaking, the leading groups set up during the organizational reform last year are good. However, the cultural level is relatively low and the age is a little bit old; there is especially a shortage of people around 40 years old. A ladder-shaped structure has not yet been formed and the combination of personnel is not rational. This is far from being able to suit the needs of the construction of the four modernizations. During party rectification, we must work to strengthen the existing leading groups and to adjust and reverse irrational situations. During party rectification, we must pay attention to detecting and cultivating talents, especially the young cadres who are bold in carrying out reform, imbued with the spirit of creating the new, rich in ideas and well educated so that we can test and temper them during party rectification and promote them during the later stage. Comrade Nie Ronggui said that while the leading groups are being readjusted and strengthened, a ladder-shaped age structure must be formed. We must have people around 50 and 40 years old as well as those around 30 years old in order to maintain relative stability among the leading groups.

When talking about the building of party groups, Comrade Yang Rudai stressed that at the time when leading groups are being readjusted and strengthened, we must speed up the building of the "third echelon." He said that during party rectification at this time, we have two organizational tasks. The one is to clear up the "three types of people" and other elements

who are harmful to the party. The other is to do a good job in building the "third echelon." To sort out the "three types of people" means to purify party organizations, and to build the "third echelon" means to enable party organizations to be further strengthened and to have more fighting power. These two tasks work in coordination and help each other forward. Whether these tasks can be successfully accomplished or not is the key to determining whether party rectification will be carried out superficially or not. Only when we can build the "third echelon" to enable the leading groups to form a ladder-shaped age structure, can we assure the continuance and stability of the development of the cause of the party. Comrade Yang Rudai said that the building of the "third echelon" in all units must be started immediately after comparison and evaluation have been accomplished. The team of the provincial party committee for guiding party rectification and the liaison officers in party rectification work sent out by the provincial party committee must help party organizations in all units study and solve this matter conscientiously.

While referring to the criterion for selecting cadres, Comrade Yang Rudai stressed that we must, on the basis of the demands set out in the cadre's "four modernizations," select those who follow correct political and ideological lines, behave themselves properly, have professional knowledge and practical work experience and dare to carry out reform, but not those worldly-wise people who are content with things as they are, not eager to make progress and lack an enterprising spirit and boldness in work. He also said that if the young cadres whom we have decided to select are short of adequate experience, we must purposely and meaningfully send them to the grass-roots level to temper them so that they can improve their abilities by practice.

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CSO: 4005/764



## SOUTHWEST REGION

### EDUCATION FOR PARTY MEMBERS STRESSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "Concentrate on Reform and Opening to the Outside World To Strengthen Education for Party Members"]

[Text] The propaganda department of the provincial party committee recently convened a provincial work conference on education for party members with the stress on discussions of the question of how to center on reform to do a good job in conducting education for party members during the second half of this year in areas where party rectification has not yet been started.

During the first half of this year, in areas where party rectification has not yet been started, in accordance with the instructions of the Party Central Committee and the Plans drawn up by the provincial party committee they regarded the study of the documents relevant to party rectification as their most important work. They adopted the method of conducting rotational training in small groups to educate party members in order to make preparations for party rectification. In so doing, positive results have been achieved. How can we do a still better job in conducting education for party members during the second half of this year? The conference felt that education for party members during the second half of this year must be centered on reform in order to ensure that reform will be carried out smoothly. In accordance with this demand, the conference, on the basis of the plans drawn up by the provincial party committee, suggested that in the study of the documents relevant to party rectification, we must do a good job in conducting education in three directions:

1. We must conscientiously conduct education for party members in the two important matters of both institutional reform and opening to the outside world in order to enable the masses of party members to understand thoroughly the fact that reform and opening to the outside world are of decisive significance to the realization of the general goal. In order to carry out reform and the policy of opening to the outside world, it will inevitably meet with ideological obstructions of one kind or another. For instance, some party members in the rural areas are skeptical about and complaining of the development of the "two households." A handful of party members have become "infuriated." They are not willing to adopt a correct attitude toward the "two households" who have become rich first. In the cities,

some party members do not value and they try to resist the implementation of the policy on intellectuals. All this indicates that enormous work must be done in reform and in carrying out the policy of opening to the outside world. Party organizations at all levels will thus be required to conduct education for party members in various forms in order to enable them to eliminate the "leftist" influence and to break away from those old ideas and restrictions which are not suited to the needs of reform and opening to the outside world so that they may stand in the forefront of reform and play an exemplary vanguard role. Party organizations must go all out to support and commend the pioneers and reformers among party members and the masses.

2. We must strengthen our efforts to conduct education in cultural, scientific and technical knowledge for party members so as to improve their abilities for participating in the construction of the four modernizations. It is an important task in conducting education for party members, a requirement in the building of the party, a need of the times and a pressing demand of the broad masses of party members to care for and help party members to raise the level of their cultural, scientific and technical knowledge and to improve the quality of party members in an all-round way. Party organizations at all levels must make a distinction between different targets, coordinate with the departments concerned and adopt a variety of methods to go all out to help party members raise their cultural, scientific and technical levels. We must specifically set demands on party members under 40 years old and ask them to take action in person.

3. We must center on the celebration activities for the 35th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic in order to conduct an education in the signal successes achieved since the founding of the People's Republic and to enable party members to believe further that the construction of the four modernizations will eventually succeed so that they can cheer up and be bold in carrying out reform in order to win glory for the party and make contributions to the four modernizations.

The conference demanded that education for party members during the second half of this year must, under the leadership of party committees at all levels, overcome problems currently existing in education for party members such as dull forms, simple methods, stereotyped contents and lack of pertinence. We must proceed from actual conditions to conduct the education of party members in a more lively way in order to achieve still better results.

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### SICHUAN HOLDS CONFERENCE ON PARTY RECTIFICATION

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Fu Yugui [0265 7183 6311]: "Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee Sets Demands on Organizations at Provincial Level in Party Rectification"]

[Text] On the morning of 15 June, the team of the provincial party committee for guiding party rectification called organizations at the provincial level to a work conference on party rectification in order to act in the spirit of Circular No 8 put out by the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification. Comrades Yang Rudai [2799 3067 1486] and Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311] stressed at the conference that departments responsible for economic work must continue to do away with outdated ideas and restrictions in order to put reform measures of one kind or another into practice as quickly as possible and that departments of the superstructure must do a good job in their own work in party rectification in order to satisfy the need to carry out institutional reform and the policy of opening to the outside world.

At present, party rectification work is being healthily carried out in organizations at the provincial level. A total of 15 units of the 91 ministries, commissions, departments and bureaus have basically graduated from the stage of comparison and evaluation, while 35 units of them are presently at the stage of comparison and evaluation and the rest will enter the stage of comparison and evaluation soon. By the end of July, the absolute majority of these units will basically complete the work of comparison and evaluation. Recently, the team of the provincial party committee for guiding party rectification made a conscientious analysis and study of party rectification work carried out in various units and put out concrete proposals to guide the next step of work. Leading cadres of various ministries, commissions, departments and bureaus and spokesmen for the departments responsible for party rectification work and of the party rectification liaison group appointed by the provincial party committee attended the conference convened on 15 June. Comrades Yang Rudai and Nie Ronggui spoke on behalf of the team of the provincial party committee for guiding party rectification. They demanded in their speeches that in party rectification, organizations at the provincial level must act in accordance with the spirit of Circular No 8 put out by the Central Commission

for Guiding Party Rectification in order to organize party cadres and party members to study and implement conscientiously the "Report on the Work of the Government" made by Premier Zhao Ziyang at the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress and, on the basis of the spirit of the report, earnestly to check up on operational policies as well as on regulations and systems of their own units so that things which present an obstacle to the implementation of the various reform measures put forward in the report can be corrected. Special attention must be paid to problems which exist in the two important tasks of institutional reform and to opening to the outside world in order to propose ways for making improvements.

When referring to the question of reform, Comrades Yang Rudai and Nie Ronggui said that reform measures put forward by the economic department in party rectification and reform must be implemented and be put into action. Some departments and bureaus have proposed certain reform measures, but they failed to put them into effective practice. They therefore lagged behind in action. It owes mainly to the fact that certain departments and units are short of a unified ideology and take action slowly or that responsible departments do their work in a perfunctory manner. They are inefficient and they stall for time. In order to implement the various reforms, all units must take further steps to do a good job in ideological education for the masses of party members and cadres, to correct their workstyle earnestly and to put an end to the phenomenon of delay and arguing back and forth.

Comrades Yang Rudai and Nie Ronggui demanded that departments of the superstructure must enthusiastically carry out reform. They said that departments of the superstructure should serve the economic base. Comrades of these departments must be interested in economic work and feel happy to reform. At present, some fine examples have emerged in the reform of the superstructure. We expect that the units concerned learn conscientiously from them and explore ways of reform actively and boldly in order to do an even better job in serving economic construction and in making efforts to "make people rich and promote people to a higher level."

Comrades Yang Rudai and Nie Ronggui also stressed in their speeches that all units must continue to rectify activities which try to seek personal gain by power and the bureaucratic workstyle which does not hold itself responsible to the people. On the basis of the spirit of the successive circulars of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification and of the team of the provincial party committee for guiding party rectification, they must also conscientiously bring problems to light and deal with them sternly.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

THOROUGH NEGATION OF 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION' URGED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Fu Yugui [1265 7183 6311]: "Conduct Extensive Education for Party Members To Negate 'Cultural Revolution' Thoroughly"]

[Text] All units of organizations at the provincial level, no matter what stage they have entered in party rectification, must, on the basis of the situation of their own units, concentrate for a certain period of time on conducting an extensive education among party members in order to negate the "Great Cultural Revolution" thoroughly. This is a decision made by the team of the provincial party committee for guiding party rectification to deal specifically with problems reflected during party rectification. After the decision was announced at the work conference of organizations at the provincial level on party rectification, which was held on 15 June, Comrades Yang Rudai [2799 3067 1486] and Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311] spoke on the significance and purpose of and the demands on conducting this education.

According to an investigation and study made by the team of the provincial party committee for guiding party rectification, the overwhelming majority of comrades in organizations at the provincial level are presently of the opinion that the "Great Cultural Revolution" must be thoroughly negated. However, there are still a handful of comrades who are muddleheaded. Some comrades have tried to find excuses of one kind or another to speak in defense of the mistakes they themselves made during the "Great Cultural Revolution." They have so far stuck to their factious ideas. In individual units, the phenomenon whereby factionalism often interferes with party rectification has emerged. In some units, "there are no visible hilltops, but there are hidden reefs." Personal relationships are determined by factional affiliations in order to cotton up to each other and to form coteries. Some leading cadres have tried to evade the factional problems in their own units and failed to criticize or resist words and deeds which are wrong but rather have chimed in with them and made endless concessions.

With regard to the abovementioned circumstances, Comrade Nie Ronggui thought it absolutely necessary to conduct education among party members in order to negate the "Great Cultural Revolution" thoroughly. He said that it is an important matter of principle whether we affirm or negate it or follow the

so-called "one divides into two." Getting to the heart of this issue is an important part in unifying our thinking, an important aspect in maintaining both ideological and political unanimity with the Party Central Committee and an important condition in eliminating factionalism, enhancing party character, safeguarding stability and unity and doing a good job in investigating the "three types of people." Every Communist Party member, especially the leading cadres, must give definite answers without the slightest ambiguity.

During the study of the documents relevant to party rectification or the stage of comparison and evaluation, some departments and bureaus have already conducted or are conducting education for party members to negate thoroughly the "Great Cultural Revolution." Comrade Nie Ronggui said after a briefing on the methods used by the provincial second department of light industry in carrying out this work and on their achievements that leaders of all units must have a clear-cut stand in dealing with those who are not ready to negate thoroughly the erroneous views of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and have so far stuck to their factious views. If this issue is to be "covered up," party rectification will be in danger of becoming just a gesture and we ourselves certainly will make mistakes.

When referring to the purpose of and demand in carrying out this kind of education, Comrades Yang Rudai and Nie Ronggui said that the masses of party members must be organized to study conscientiously the part in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China Adopted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" dealing with the "Great Cultural Revolution" and to study the commentary "It Is Necessary To Negate the 'Cultural Revolution' Thoroughly" published in RENMIN RIBAO on 23 April and the article "Strengthen Party Character, Overcome Factionalism" written by Comrade Zhang Yun [4545 5686] and published in issue nine of RED FLAG magazine. After having undergone study and discussion, we clearly understand that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a mistake both in theory and in practice. Therefore, it must be negated. There is no difference between the two factions of rebelling organizations with regard to the question of which one is better or right because both of them are wrong. People who have made serious mistakes must carry out self-criticism in order to gain the forgiveness of the masses. To get rid of the ideological mistakes made during the "Great Cultural Revolution" is not to reverse history or to get entangled with matters of the past, but to distinguish clearly between right and wrong, to draw lessons, to do away with factionalism and to enhance unity in order to make concerted efforts to open up new prospects for carrying out institutional reform and the policy of opening to the outside world.

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### CRACKDOWN ON CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES URGED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 84 p 2

[Article: "Crack Down Severely on Serious Criminal Activities, Safeguard Socialist Legal System"]

[Text] Gao Zhenzhong [7559 2182 0022], chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, made a "Report on the Work of the People's Procuratorate of Sichuan Province" at the Second Session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress on 25 June. The report says that over the past year, procuratorial organs throughout the province regarded the severe crackdown on serious criminal activities, the safeguarding of the socialist legal system, the defense and promotion of the smooth progress of the construction of the socialist modernizations as their most important tasks. They have achieved notable successes.

The report says that in the struggle to crack down severely on criminal activities, procuratorial organs throughout the province have, on the basis of facts and law, correctly implemented the principle of carrying out punishment severely and quickly. Cases submitted for approval or handed in for instituting proceedings by public security organs have been firmly handled through the concentration of manpower. As people who should be arrested in accordance with the law have been taken into custody and proceedings have been instituted according to the law against those who should be prosecuted, strong measures have resolutely been taken against those elements who have committed serious crimes including murderers, rapists, looters, major thieves and hooligans and kidnappers. At the same time, prosecutorial organs in various places have enthusiastically carried out procuratorial work on jail activities. On the one hand, cases of crimes repeatedly committed by a number of criminals sentenced to reform through labor and persons under reeducation through labor have been handled in time and, on the other hand, inspection and supervision have been conducted in accordance with stipulations provided by the law to see whether activities carried out in jails, lockups and houses of detention as well as in places where reform through labor or reeducation through labor take place are lawful or not. In this struggle, procuratorial organs at all levels have conscientiously implemented the laws and policies and have made a strict distinction between crime and non-crime and between major and minor offenses. In so doing, the policy of "leniency to those who

confess their crimes and severity to those who refuse to" has been realized. Being strict or lenient as it should be so as to combine leniency with severity has thus further divided and demoralized the criminal elements. Procuratorial organs at all levels have also paid close attention to the comprehensive administration of public security which has played a certain role in removing the hidden perils which are harmful to public security, in eliminating the factors which have aroused crimes and in promoting public security in order to make a continuous and steady turn for the better.

The report says that even though the struggle in our province to crack down severely on criminal activities has achieved a signal victory, it has not been evenly developed and public security has not yet been basically turned for the better. In some places, criminal cases which are seriously harmful such as murder, bombings or armed assaults occur from time to time. We have not done enough to crack down on criminals who have long succeeded in staying hidden. Many criminals who have long been fleeing hither and thither have not been arrested and brought to justice. A large number of important, long-pending cases have not yet been uncovered. Therefore, the people's procuratorial organs at all levels must duly understand the complex, arduous and protracted nature of the struggle and continue to coordinate with the departments of public security, the courts and the judicial administration to search intensively for criminals who have long succeeded in staying hidden, to improve further the quality of case handling and to apply correctly the law in order to make great efforts to strive for a fundamental turn for the better in public security as soon as possible.

When referring to a crackdown on criminals in the economic field, the report points out that many procuratorial organs have, in coordination with the departments concerned, entered some departments, organizations and large-scale enterprises to carry out investigations and study in a planned way.

As a result, they have found and investigated a number of serious criminal cases in the economic field. After having handled these cases, an economic loss of more than 5.4 million yuan suffered by the state and the collectives has been prevented. The crackdown on criminal activities in the economic field has played a role in ensuring the implementation in our province of the policy of vitalizing the economy domestically and opening to the outside world. Procuratorial organs must continue to strengthen their work in this respect. Important criminal cases in the economic field which have already been uncovered must be firmly checked up on and dealt with. Affairs must be handled strictly in accordance with the law in order to protect the legal interests of the reformers, of the specialized and key households in the rural areas, of individual enterprises in the cities and towns and of joint economic concerns for effectively ensuring smooth progress in the reform of the economic system.

The report says that it is an important duty entrusted to procuratorial organs by the law to wage struggles against illegal offenses committed by state workers who utilize their powers of office to violate the citizen's legal rights in order to guarantee that the legal rights of citizens not be violated. Over the past year, procuratorial organs at all levels have strengthened their inspections of the effectiveness of discipline and the law.



They have also, in accordance with the law, placed cases of various kinds of violations of citizen's democratic rights and malfeasances such as unlawful detentions, unlawful searches, sabotage of elections, violations of citizen's right of freedom of correspondence and so forth on file for investigation. They have strengthened their work in investigating and handling cases of workers of the state such as exploiting their powers of office, practicing favoritism, harboring criminals, framing up for retaliation, lodging false accusations, extorting a confession by torture and so forth. Since responsibilities for the crimes of the offenders have been investigated and affixed, the citizen's personal and democratic rights are well protected.

The report says that over the past year, procuratorial organs at all levels have conscientiously carried out organizational reforms and have readjusted and strengthened the leading groups. As a result, a number of advanced collectives and advanced individuals have emerged who are steadfast in their stand, upright and never stooping to flattery, strict in enforcing the law and impartial in handling matters. They are praised by the party and the people. However, in our ranks there are still problems of impurities in varying degrees in ideology, in workstyle and in organizations. This will require us to go all out to spread the ideas of paying attention to matters of prime importance, of taking the situation as a whole into consideration and of having a down-to-earth workstyle in one's own profession. This will also require us to combine various kinds of endeavors, to learn from the advanced, to commend good people and good deeds, to uphold justice while checking evil tendencies and to continue the study of political science and law, particularly of economic policies and regulations, in order to know how to apply the law to the protection and promotion of economic reform.

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### COMMENTARY ON INTELLECTUALS' DIFFICULTIES IN BECOMING CPC MEMBERS

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Problem of Intellectuals' Difficulties in Becoming Party Members Can Be Resolved Through Conscientious Work"]

[Text] At the time when we are celebrating the birthday of the party, the purpose of a news release by us to report that we are actively recruiting qualified intellectuals into the party is to encourage organizations at all levels to pay attention to doing a good job conscientiously and earnestly in admitting intellectuals into the party so that the building of the party may, in a still better way, be suited to the needs in carrying out the new mission in a new era.

"Intellectuals encountering difficulties in becoming party members" is a universal reflection of the situation of intellectuals who are enthusiastically seeking party membership. Some people have applied for party membership 3 to 5 times and have undergone tests for 8 to 10 years, but the answers they have received still says: "Further tests are needed!"

Some outstanding intellectuals with progressive ideas and noble characters who have worked conscientiously for the party and the people for scores of years were admitted as members of the party only posthumously. Can all party organizations and all members of the Communist Party look on this phenomenon with equanimity and not alter it?!

Intellectuals encounter difficulties in becoming party members. Where do the difficulties lie? The difficulties lie in the fact that the "leftist" influence has not been totally eliminated. Speaking in a more specific way, this is because difficulties lie in the fact that the old tendency of many comrades to look down upon knowledge and to discriminate against intellectuals is deep-rooted. The prejudice of regarding intellectuals as "targets of reform" instead of targets that one can depend on still exists. As a result, they mistakenly regard the recruiting of intellectuals into the party as being harmful to the progressiveness and purity of the party.

Certain organizational departments have mininterpreted the guiding principles of organizational development. With regard to admitting

intellectuals into the party, they pay attention only to prudence but not to zealousness. They demand perfection and are particularly overcritical. Furthermore, they are not inclined to treat intellectuals' personal, family and social relations correctly or in an all-round way.

Individual cadres in the leading posts proceed from the unhealthy mentality of envying able and virtuous persons, of caring only about personal gains or losses and of taking a subjective approach to likes or dislikes. They take an indifferent attitude toward comrades who ask to join the party or even create difficulties by obstructing with the powers they have in their hands.

In actual work, there are only calls without action, or there are only instructions without examination. With regard to certain peculiar problems encountered in recruiting intellectuals into the party, the leaders have never made a close examination or a conscientious study in order to guide ordinary personnel on the basis of their own experiences.

There are difficulties of one kind or another. But the question at the core is actually in the inconsistency of understanding that results from the fact that the pernicious "leftist" influence has not yet been eliminated. It may be said that the latter difficulty is derived from the first one or is directly related to the first one. If we are not able to overcome the first difficulty, it will be impossible for us to overcome the others. Even if they are surmounted temporarily, usually they may "relapse." The key to resolving the problem of understanding lies again in party cadres at all levels, particularly in cadres in charge of the party's organizational work. Once the problem of understanding by party cadres is solved, they will take the initiative to work and difficulties of one kind or another will be readily settled. Otherwise, it will become extremely difficult and it will not be easy to remove obstructions.

This or that difficulty is actually not that difficult provided that we are determined to put in a lot of effort to deal with it. Since the problem of ideological understanding is primary, it is necessary for us to find a way out and to put more time and energy into solving them. For instance, we can learn from the documents, attend party lectures, conduct training classes on specific topics and carry out typical investigations and analyses pertinent to certain outstanding questions in connection with making an appraisal and getting an understanding of intellectuals. Party member standards can be applied to measure and compare in order to unify the criterion for appraising a certain question or a certain comrade. In so doing, understanding can gradually be unified. At a time when we are going to resolve the question of understanding, we must also adopt organizational measures and pay attention to improving our methods. This will also include adopting necessary organizational measures to deal with those party cadres who use powers in their hands to discriminate against and exclude intellectuals who ask to join the party, bar intellectuals who are qualified for party membership from entering the doors of the party or hold on to their own views even after having undergone education and refuse to take action

so that they will no longer have the power to create difficulties as they please. Both the ways adopted by Dali Prefecture and Kunming Mining Bureau which have achieved success and the relevant decisions made by the Kunming municipal party committee are aimed at promoting a settlement of the problem by way of getting to know the problem and of adopting organizational measures.

A certain comrade of the party Central Committee pointed out when he talked about the implementation of the policy on intellectuals: "At present, our common failing everywhere is that there are many people who talk only about general principles, write down only stipulations or carry on only boundless talks, but there are very few who try to discover or resolve problems or go deep to investigate and supervise. It is necessary for all departments to put an end to this trend." He also said: "There is no knack to reversing this trend in a particularly easy way. The knack is to hold on to it firmly and to struggle to the end!" In order to resolve the problem of intellectuals encountering difficulties in becoming party members, what we need to do is to guard against idle talks, do our work conscientiously, grasp it firmly and carry out our struggle to the end!

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### MORE INTELLECTUALS JOIN PARTY

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Mei Songwu [2734 2646 2976]: "More Than 44,000 Intellectuals in Our Province Join the Party"]

[Text] Party organizations at all levels in our province have conscientiously been making efforts to eliminate "leftists" influence in order to overcome the old prejudices and positively and prudently recruit party members from among the intellectuals. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC National Congress, more than 44,000 outstanding professionals and technicians have been admitted into the party, equivalent to approximately one-third of the total number of party members who were intellectuals in 1978. Last year, more than 11,000 intellectuals were admitted into the party in our province, making up 33.2 percent of the total number of new party members. The ratio was four and a half times that of 1978. At present, in ranks of party members in our province, more than 203,000 persons are professional or technical personnel of one kind or another. On an average, there are approximately 6 professionals or technicians out of 100 party members.

Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, party committees and organization departments at all levels in our province have, in recent years, regarded the recruiting of party members from among intellectuals as an important task in implementing the policy on intellectuals. The work of recruiting party members from among intellectuals has been assigned to specially appointed persons. Specific plans and measures have also been worked out to cultivate, educate, test and recruit intellectuals. The overwhelming majority of party organizations at the grass-roots level paid attention at the time of recruiting new party members to educating party-member cadres to understand correctly the social status and the role of intellectuals in the construction of the four modernizations, to eliminate "leftist" influence, to overcome selfish ideas and to take a correct attitude toward the family origins, social relations and political as well as historical problems of intellectuals in order to make efforts to admit those into the party who are qualified for party membership. They have been looking for a solution to the problem of intellectuals encountering difficulties in becoming party members and thereby summed up a lot of good experiences.

Compared with the demands of the Party Central Committee and the need to construct the four modernizations, the work of recruiting party members from among intellectuals carried out all over the province still lagged behind to a certain extent. The problem of intellectuals encountering difficulties in becoming party members still exists in many places. At present, effective measures are being adopted by party committees and organization departments at all levels to resolve conscientiously the problem of intellectuals encountering difficulties in becoming party members in order to absorb into the party those outstanding intellectuals who are ready to dedicate themselves to the socialist and communist causes.

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CSO: 4005/765

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### PROVINCIAL CPPCC CANDIDATES RECOMMENDED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by Xia Rong [1115 3310]: "Provincial Party Committee Invites Democratic Parties To Conduct Democratic Consultation"]

[Text] On the morning of 18 June, the Sichuan provincial CPC committee invited various democratic parties, nonparty persons, people's organizations and personalities of various nationalities and circles to conduct a democratic consultation on candidates for filling the positions of vice chairman of the Fifth Sichuan Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee and standing committee members.

At the consultative meeting, Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, spoke first to explain the name list of candidates for filling the vacancies. He said that in April last year, a total of 158 persons were elected as members of the standing committee at the First Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee. Over the past year, seven comrades died one after another. The deceased included vice chairman Guo-ji-Mu-gu [2654 1915 2606 1657], members of the standing committee Han Wenxi [7281 2429 3971], Zhao Ji [6392 4949], Zhang Jingshan [1728 7234 1472], Duan Jinzhao [3008 2516 8734], Lin Ziguang [2651 1311 0342] and A-hou Lu-mu-zi [7093 1230 7627 2606 1311]. Vice chairman Yu Hongyuan [0151 3163 6678] resigned from his post in the Political Consultative Committee after retirement. As the case stands, there has been a decrease of eight persons including two vice chairmen and six members of the standing committee. Among them four are Communist Party members and four non-party personages. At present, the actual number of members of the standing committee is only 150. On the basis of suggestions received from various sources, the vacancies of vice chairmen and members of the standing committee will be filled at the forthcoming second session of the Fifth Provincial People's Political Consultative Committee.

The various democratic parties, people's organizations and persons of various circles participating in the consultative meeting reached a consensus to support the list of candidates for filling the vacancies of the two vice chairmanships and the five memberships of the standing committee submitted by the provincial CPC committee after conducting a full democratic discussion.

Geng Yuanwei [7458 1337 5588], deputy secretary of the Sichuan provincial CPC committee, and persons in charge of the various democratic parties including Pei Changhui [5952 2490 2585], Peng Dixian [1756 6611 0341], Pan Dakui [3382 1129 6652], Xu Conglin [1776 1504 2651], Liu Xilin [1491 6007 2651], Liu Yunbo [1491 0061 3134], Ke Zhao [2688 1664], Wang Yanli [3769 1750 4539] and Wang Tingjun [3769 1656 6874] as well as persons in charge of the various people's organizations and personalities of various circles attended the consultative meeting.

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## SOUTHWEST REGION

### REFORM OF CADRES CONTROL SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Kunming YANNAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "Implementing the Spirit of the Central Directive on Pertinent Delegation of Cadres Control Authority, the Provincial Party Committee Transmits With Approval Its Organization Department's 'Views on Certain Questions Concerning the Reform of Our Cadres Control System'"]

[Text] On 2 August, the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee transmitted with approval its Organization Department's "Views on Certain Questions Concerning the Reform of Our Cadres Control System" and, on account of this, also issued a circular to ask party organization at all levels to earnestly implement the document.

The circular points out that pertinent delegation of cadres control authority is intended to meet the needs in the reform of our economic system and reform on other fronts; it helps cadres to control less, manage well, and manage with flexibility; it helps reinforce the sense of responsibility on the part of party committees (party groups) at the various levels in doing a good job in controlling their cadres; it helps promote the reform of all our cadre systems, accelerate the construction of our "four modernizations" among the ranks of our cadres, so as to enable our organizational work to better serve the party's general tasks and overall objectives. After our cadres control authority is pertinently delegated, party committees (party groups) at all levels must firmly implement the policy of making the ranks of our cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent and conscientiously and responsibly grasp well as a whole the tasks of appointing and dismissing, transferring, evaluating, training, examining, promoting, and rewarding and punishing the cadres under the respective jurisdiction. In the selection and employment of cadres, they must strengthen their collective leadership, give full scope to democracy, broadly follow the mass line, promote to leadership posts young, superior cadres of good political quality, good knowledge, pioneering zeal and reformist spirit, so as to turn our leading groups into a multi-echelon age-structure and a rational knowledge-structure as well as profession-structure and really become the strong core of leadership guiding the construction of our socialist modernization. They must do penetrating investigation and study and succeed in knowing their men and how to use them; they must also be courageous in resorting to exploration and

innovation, sum up in time their new experiences in broadening their cadres' work, so as to make their cadres' work better serve our socialist modernization and construction.

The "Views on Certain Questions Concerning the Reform of Our Cadres Control System" points out, in order to meet the needs in the reform of our economic system and reform in other aspects, we must proceed to reform our current cadres control system. Under the unified leadership of the provincial party committee, we should practice the principles of unity between control by the organizational departments in general and control by the various departments themselves separately, unity between cadres control and business management, unity between control over our leading cadres and control over our leading groups, and unity between control over our in-service cadres and control over our cadres in reserve, and thereby adopt the approach of letting each level do its own controlling, each level shoulder its own responsibility, and each level control the next level below.

There are altogether 14 items in the "Views" expressed by the Organization Department of the provincial party committee, of which the main contents are as follows:

--The control of cadres of party, government and mass organs. Cadres subject to control by the provincial party committee are members of the standing committee of the provincial advisory committee, members of the standing committee of the provincial commission for disciplined inspection, members of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, members of the standing committee of the provincial CPPCC and subcommittees of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of the party groups of the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC; the party and government chief and deputy chief officeholders, party group members, chief engineers, heads (secretaries) of groups (commissions) for the inspection of discipline of party, government and mass departments at the provincial level and directors of political departments where such departments are present; party and government chief and deputy chief officeholders of second-class bureaus; and principal leading cadres of party and government organs and courts and procuratorates of regions, prefectures and municipalities. Chief and deputy chief divisional cadres of party, government and mass departments at the provincial level who are now subject to control by the provincial party committee shall be delegated to control by each department's own party group (party committee); chief and deputy chief party and government officeholders and party group members of second-class bureaus shall be delegated to control by party groups (party committees) of business-wise, correspondingly concerned commissions and divisions, and chief and deputy chief divisional cadres of second-class bureaus shall be delegated to control by each division's own party group (party committee); chief officeholders of party, government and mass departments of regions, prefectures and municipalities and principal leading cadres of counties shall be delegated to control by party committees of the regions, prefectures and municipalities themselves.

--The control of cadres of state-run enterprises. The party committee secretaries, deputy secretaries, members of the standing committees of party committees (or members of party committees which do not have any standing

committee, the same below), chairmen of boards, vice chairmen of boards, factory directors, deputy factory directors, managers, deputy managers, chief engineers, chief accountants, chief economists are to be controlled by the provincial party committee. Party and government chief and deputy chief officeholders of provincial divisions and bureaus (including second-class bureaus) and medium enterprises under the jurisdiction of provincial companies, members of the standing committees of party committees (or of party committees), chief engineers, chief accountants, chief economists are all controlled by the party groups (party committees) of the divisions, bureaus and companies having jurisdiction over them. Party and government chief officeholders of small enterprises are controlled by the party groups (party committees) of the divisions, bureaus and companies having jurisdiction over them. Intermediate-level party and mass organization cadres of medium- and small-sized enterprises are appointed and dismissed by the party committees of their own units; intermediate-level administrative cadres are appointed and dismissed by factory directors and managers.

--The control of cadres of institutions of higher learning and other public agencies. Party committee secretaries, deputy secretaries, members of the standing committees of party committees (or members of party committees), honorary presidents and deans, presidents, vice presidents, deans, vice deans of the 13 institutions of higher learning, including Yunnan University, and the provincial academy of social sciences and provincial academy of agricultural sciences are controlled by the provincial party committee. Intermediate-level cadres of universities and colleges are controlled by party committees of their respective units. Party and government chief and deputy chief officeholders of the province's 10 teachers colleges are delegated to control by party committees of the regions, prefectures and municipalities where they are located. Party and government chief and deputy chief officeholders and members of the standing committees of party committees (or members of party committees) of the province's college of advanced studies for public health cadres, college of advanced studies in physical education, college of politics and law and college of public security studies are delegated to control by party groups of pertinent commissions and divisions at the provincial level. Party and government chief and deputy chief officeholders and members of the standing committees of party committees (or members of party committees) of other public agencies under the jurisdiction of provincial divisions and bureaus are all delegated to control by party groups (party committees) of the divisions and bureaus in charge.

--In the case of those serving as advisers, supervisors, inspectors, and researchers, they shall be controlled according to the office level of whatever office level to which they belong.

--In the case of units subject to dual leadership with the various ministries and commissions of the central government as the principal controlling authority, these ministries and commissions of the central government shall determine to which level their control would reach, then to that particular level the provincial party committees would also supervise such control.

--Simplification of transfer procedures for cadres. Except in the case of the transfer of provincially controlled cadres which must still be examined and approved by the provincial party committee or departments sharing such control over those cadres, the non-provincially controlled cadres of the provincial party and mass systems, within the four districts of Kunming, may be transferred once units of both sides reach an agreement.

--Under the uniform leadership of the provincial party committee, the organization department, propaganda department, united front department of the provincial party committee must conscientiously and responsibly do a good job in examining, training, educating, selecting, employing, evaluating, appointing and dismissing, promoting, rewarding and punishing the cadres under their respective control and in such tasks as readjusting the staffing structures of our leading groups, building our third echelon as well as the control of our cadres in reserve and the control of our veteran cadres.

The "Views" of the organization department of the provincial party committee stresses that, after the cadres control authority of the provincial party committee is delegated, the cadres control authority of the party groups (party committees) of the various regions, prefectures and municipalities and various provincial units would be enhanced, and their responsibilities would become greater; we must adopt concrete measures to reinforce our leadership over this task, and dutifully and responsibly do a good job in our cadres control. In our work we must resolutely implement the party's cadre policy and its policy of making our cadre ranks "more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent," conscientiously and responsibly grasp well as a whole such tasks as the appointment and dismissal, transfer, and evaluation of the cadres under their respective jurisdiction, so as to better serve the party's general line and overall objectives. We must seek truth from facts, fairly and forthrightly treat our cadres and use our cadres, strictly follow the relevant prescriptions and requirements of the central and provincial authorities, so as to do a good job in ensuring political soundness, age relevance, and cultural competence. We must adhere to our party character, uproot factionalism, continue to eliminate "Leftist" influence, and oppose all unhealthy practices. In the case of those who violate this party character principle, violate the party's cadre policy and the policy of making our cadres "more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent," and hence lead to improper appointments and dismissals and transfers, party committees and organization and personnel departments of the superior level shall have the right to carry out inspection, rectification, until the erroneous decisions are removed and the responsibilities of relevant leaders are ascribed.

The "Views" of the organization department of the provincial party committee are to be put into practice in the month of August.

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CSO: 4005/820

NORTH REGION

## IMPLEMENTATION OF INTELLECTUALS POLICY STRESSED

### Punishment for Evasion

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by Xu Wenchen [6079 2429 5256], Dong Jiqin [5516 4949 0530] and Du Guotang [2629 0948 1016]: "Handan Prefecture Convenes Intellectuals Policy Implementation Conference: Li Zhichang [2621 1807 2490] and Zhao Quanyou [6392 0356 2569] Are Dismissed from Office for Suppressing and Discriminating against Intellectuals"]

[Text] On 7 April, the Handan prefectural party committee and administrative office convened an intellectuals policy implementation conference of the prefecture to mete out solemn punishment against Li Zhichang, the former party committee secretary and bureau chief, latter adviser, of the prefectural machine industry company (originally machine industry bureau), and Zhao Quanyou, the former party committee member and deputy bureau chief, latter adviser, of the same company who suppressed and discriminated against engineer Lei Guangying [7179 0342 5391] by dismissing them from their advisership and also issuing a circular on them in the prefecture.

Lei Guangying is a technical cadre of a broadcasting supplies plant under the machine industry company of the Handan Prefecture. From 1973 on, the plant under his stewardship, successfully test-produced in succession and 8-channel electroencephalogram and a 9-channel one, which filled the void in the manufacturing of medical devices in our province and which were granted respectively the province's scientific and technological achievement award and the state economic commission's superior new product award. During this period, Lei Guangying served in succession as chief of the plant's technical section and director of its scientific research office. In 1980, he succeeded in transforming himself into an assistant engineer; in 1982 he was promoted to engineer with the approval of the provincial medical bureau. At that time, Li Zhichang and Zhao Quanyou, who shouldered party and government leadership work in the prefectural machine industry company, declared upon receiving the document endorsing the promotion of Lei Guangying to engineer: "Procedurally this has been sent to us directly to our plant without going through the prefectural science commission and the provincial medical bureau; let us make an investigation to see through what connections did this get

to us." Then they sent someone to Shijiazhuang to investigate, but did not uncover any problem. Thereafter, the plant also declared Lei Guangying to be an ordinary member of the scientific research office. Under such circumstances, Lei Guangying proceed to write letters of appeal to the concerned departments of the prefectural party committee and asked to be transferred away from the plant. The concerned leaders, upon receiving Lei Guangying's letters of appeal, personally sought out Li Zhichang and Zhao Quanyou to work on the matter and directed the machine industry bureau to issue the engineer's certificate to Lie Guangying and publish the provincial medical bureau's "document of endorsement." Li and Zhao, however, resisted and refused to carry out this measure and went even further to find fault with, and suppress Comrade Lei Guangying.

This incident aroused the attention of the provincial and prefectural leaders. In March this year, the prefectural party committee organized a joint investigation team and quickly clarified the problem. In their term of office, Li Zhichang and Zhao Quanyou, ignoring the directives of the party Central Committee, the province and the prefecture on the implementation of our intellectuals policy, withheld Comrade Lei Guangyang's engineer certificate and document of endorsement for as long as 1 year and 7 months, and also arbitrarily dismissed him from his leadership position, withheld his business subsidies, interrupted his scientific research projects. These tactics are vicious, and their impact is very bad. In order to make our party discipline strict and further implement our party's intellectuals policy, the prefectural party committee and special administrative office especially convened an intellectuals policy implementation conference and declared right there the dismissal of Li Zhichang and Zhao Quanyou from their adviserships, promoted Lei Guangying to deputy director of the prefectural broadcasting supplies plant, and issued to him his engineer certificate and made up his business subsidies payment.

#### Comment on Compliance

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "We Must Dare To Remove Any 'Pretext'"]

[Text] In doing our work in implementing the intellectuals policy, we must pay attention to grasp some typical cases; we must grasp both the fine cases as well as the bad cases. Cases wherein intellectuals are subjected to discrimination, fault-finding, exclusion and attack, especially wherein leading cadres resist and refuse to carry out correct directives from the superior level, must be investigated until facts are clear and solemnly handled so as to educate the vast ranks of our party members and cadres. If we condone these cases and dare not to handle them, we would be unable to remove the "pretext" for not implementing our intellectuals policy. The view and the idea that when a negative typical case is thus handled, it would tarnish the glory of the prefecture and the unit in question, that it would "hurt people," are erroneous;

they are also a reflection of our flabbiness and laxity and lack of courage to face confrontation. If such a spiritual state is not changed, the condition of our intellectuals being excluded irrespective of right or wrong or even in a reversal of black and white can never be fundamentally rectified. Therefore, party committees at all levels, especially the heads and deputy heads of various units, must be clear-cut in their stand, dare to face confrontation, and must never try to be just "nice guys."

To implement the party's intellectuals policy in a down-to-earth manner is an important indicator of maintaining consistency with the party Central Committee in actual conduct. In this implementation of our intellectuals policy, party committees at all levels must succeed in paying great attention to it ideologically and getting a close handle on it in their work. Paying great attention ideologically is to conscientiously study the party Central Committee's principles and policies on intellectuals, further eliminate the influence of the "Left," rectify the various prejudices against the intellectuals, and really establish the Marxist scientific concept of respect for knowledge and respect for talents. Getting a close handle on it in our work is to positively and actively inspect one unit after another, and solve a case while investigating it. In this work we must also establish a responsibility system, make clear the due responsibilities of members of a leading group; whoever fails to do a good job, then, would be held responsible accordingly.

#### Elimination of 'Leftist' Influence

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Apr 84 p 4

[Letter to the editor by Geng Wenxiang [5105 2429 4382], United Front Department, Shijiazhuang Municipal CPC Committee: "Eliminate 'Leftist' Influence, Develop Intellectuals To Join Our Party"]

[Text] Comrade Editor:

In our work of investigating and implementing the party's intellectuals policy, we have come to understand that some middle-aged and old intellectuals who have for many years urgently demanded to join the party and who already meet the conditions for admission into the party still have not been able to get admitted. The main cause giving rise to such a situation in some party members, especially responsible persons of the party's basic-level organizations, think that the family background of these intellectuals was too lofty, their historical and social relationships are too complicated, and hence they are not "in the clear."

As all of us know, the party's policy has always been to look at the present in the case of historical questions, to look at the individual in the case of family questions, with emphasis on the individual's own performance. Further, with respect to absorbing new party members, our party requires only that the comrade who is applying for admission into the party truthfully presents his relevant situation to the party organization in an unequivocal manner. The attitude of not seeking truth

from facts with regard to an intellectual's experience, family and social relationship and not conducting concrete analyses of concrete problems is, to put it bluntly, still a case of viewing intellectuals of the new historical era with a "Leftist" eye. Indeed, in the case of some intellectuals, especially those who have come over from the old society, their experiences, social relationships and families are really rather complicated; but as long as we have clearly understood them and the individuals themselves have also achieved a correct understanding in this regard, we should no longer wrangle over them or even cling to them.

In the new historical era, intellectuals have already become part of our working class and precious wealth of our party and state. Conscientiously solving the problem of our intellectuals "finding it hard to get admitted into the party" is an important aspect of our effort to implement the party's intellectuals policy today as well as an integral part of our party rectification campaign. Party organizations at all levels should adapt to this new situation, earnestly handle well our education on party-building thinking in the new era, and actively develop intellectuals whose qualifications match those of a party member to join the party.

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## NORTH REGION

### IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK FOR STUDENTS URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 84 p 1

[Commentary: "Remember Well the Bloody Lessons, Strengthen Our Ideological and Political Work in Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] At the Hebei College of Engineering, there has occurred a malicious case of a bunch of students murdering a teacher. In making public this case, our goal is, while mourning with deep grief over the passing of our revolutionary martyr lecturer Wu Panren [0702 4149 0088], to at the same time appeal to our institutions of higher learning and middle and elementary schools to strengthen the ideological and political work, absorb a lesson, and prevent such future occurrences.

The murderer Shi Jianmin [0670 1696 3046] is a scum among the students. But, where a youth receiving higher education who, because he has twice taken make-up examinations without earning qualifying marks (he also has failed in other subjects) and hence was unable to obtain his diploma, therefore resorted to murdering his teacher and embarked upon a path of crime, this makes it necessary for us to reflect deeply. Tracing the murderer Shi's process of mental changes, we can see the influence the family, society, and schooling have on the shaping of the world view, and philosophy of life, of our youth and children. In his period of childhood and youth, like hundreds of millions of our children and youths, Shi Jianmin received the ideological and moral education of communism ever since he was very small. But, why, under similar educational conditions, did he become eroded by such corrupt, obsolescent ideas like "glorifying one's ancestors," becoming a shoulder above others" in order to be recognized as a "high-class Chinese?" Murderer Shi's own profession has provided us with some testimony: "I passed the university entrance examination and became the only university student in our village; this was a golden-character shop sign which caused my peers to compliment me and older people to express pride in me and relatives to spoil me." "Once one gets into a university, one earns an 'iron bowl'; one future becomes immeasurable, and one becomes a high-class Chinese." Because extreme bourgeois individualism and feudal remnant ideas such as "glorifying one's ancestors" had permeated his soul, once he suffered some setbacks or felt any despair, he began to see no future and no light and even embarked on a path of crime. This is of course first of all

chargeable to himself, but it at the same time also poses a solemn question to his family, to society and to his schooling, that is, we must strengthen our education of our children and youths, especially education of our single son or daughter and never overlook it or take it lightly.

Bloody lessons repeatedly tell us: in administering ideological and political education in our institutions of higher learning, we should place emphasis on the students. Students trained by an institution of higher learning will, upon graduation, become the core force on the various fronts of our effort to build socialism and the propagators of our socialist spiritual civilization. What the quality of talents trained by our institutions of higher learning is like is of great concern to the future and destiny of our state. Therefore, we must help the students to correctly solve problems such as the purpose of life, the attitude of life and the value of life by the application of the historical-materialist point of view, to understand how to correctly handle the relationship between the individual and the state, between the individual and the collective, and to further establish the Communist view of life.

The goal of our study is an important reflection of our view of life. Beginning with the first day of their entrance into a school, we must immediately help the students establish the correct goal of their study. With regard to the bourgeois view of life which happens to be influential among the students, we must carry out fully rational analysis and criticism. Besides, at each link between recruitment and job assignment upon graduation in the training of students in our institutions of higher learning, we must earnestly make sure that the students we train will have pertinent qualifications politically as well as professionally. Those who have undergone the schooling but fail to attain their goal, we must strictly implement the prescriptions of such documents as the "Control over the Status of Study of Students of Institutions of Higher Learning" issued by the Ministry of Education" by handling them only on the basis of dismissal and completion of study, but not graduation. This is an unshakable principle. Wu Panren, lecturer of the Hebei Engineering College, like most teachers at our institutions of higher learning, must, while trying patiently to persuade and educate the students, at the same time adhere to this principle, remain responsible to the party and to the people, resist the unhealthy practices of "granting a student complimentary marks" or "tamper with a student's marks," so as to prevent the influx of students of "high marks but poor talent" into society. This merits study on the educational front and the respect of society. In a word, the ideological and political education among our students depends on all working departments and all working personnel to positively and actively do a good job on our ideological and political work among the students around the training goal of a socialist university according to their respective characteristics of work. So long as we do such a good job, the vast ranks of our students will definitely grow up healthily under the banner of communism, and malicious cases like that of the Hebei Engineering College can also be rooted out.

NORTH REGION

IMPROVED TREATMENT OF INTELLECTUALS IN SHANXI

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 84 p 3

[Report by Hui Jinyi [1920 6855 5030] "Party Committee of the Shanxi Institute of Coal Chemistry Directs Party Members To Treat Correctly Intellectuals Applying To Join the Party "]

[Text] The Party Committee of the Shanxi Institute of Coal-Chemistry, Academy of Sciences, has correctly dealt with various problems experienced by intellectuals. Some intellectuals who had repeatedly applied for party membership before finally got their wishes fulfilled. So far, among the more than 340 intellectuals who are not party members, there are more than 100 who have applied to join the party. The Institute Party Committee seriously handles the problems of those intellectuals not getting admitted into the party. Whenever the party committee sees the "leftist" emphasis or background in the minds of party members, the members will be directed to study the party basic principles and policy on intellectuals. It is pointed out clearly that a person should not be judged by his background but primarily by his performance. For example, an associate research fellow who performed well in all areas and had outstanding achievements in scientific research was not invited to join the party for years because some people thought that his background was not good. With the help of the Institute Party Committee, the party branch where the associate research fellow worked came to a consensus and quickly invited him to join the party.

In regard to those intellectuals who have made common mistakes in the past, the Institute Party Committee will not trace their history. Those who meet the party membership qualifications will be admitted into the party. A director of a research laboratory who caused a serious accident because of his negligence at work 16 years ago was given a major demerit. Since then, he has been working very carefully, and his scientific research record has been outstanding. Based on his consistent performance, the Party Branch headquarters accepted him as a member of the Communist Party.

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CSO: 4005/745

## NORTH REGION

### PARTY OFFICIAL DISMISSED FOR SUPPRESSING INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by Sun Wei [1327 4850]: "Secretary of the Party Committee of Diesel Engine Factory at Shijazhuang Prefers To Be Negative Model: Whoever Resists the Party's Policy on Intellectuals Will Be Dismissed from This Post"]

[Text] Su Wenyi [5685 2429 5030] Party Committee Secretary of Shijazhuang Diesel Engine Factory in Hebei, was dismissed from his post for squeezing out and attacking intellectuals. As the Party Committee of the Municipal Mechanical Industrial Company announced this decision, Assistant Engineer Wang Qi [3769 3823], a college graduate of the 60's, was appointed secretary of that factory.

There are more than 1,200 employees in the Shijiazhuang Diesel Engine Factory, among them, 11.5% were intellectuals. However, the functions of intellectuals had not been brought into play for a long time. At the beginning of last year, leadership bodies of this factory were readjusted. Duties and responsibilities of the factory director and the secretary of the Party Committee were defined. But the Party Committee Secretary, Su Wenyi, still held supremacy over every administrative issue. It left the newly appointed factory director, engineer Bai Xuezheng [4101 1331 1073], and factory Chief engineer with no authority. The factory director did not even have the power to examine and approve the monthly production plan. The monthly production plan must be examined and approved by the secretary. Last winter, Su Wenyi was out sick. Bai Xuezheng examined and approved that month's production plan. He was later blamed and picked on by Su. Su made his own decision to transfer a workshop supervisor and an engineer of the factory to another factory without even mentioning it to Bai Xuezheng. Intimidated by Su's domination, the deputy director in charge of technical affairs, also an engineer, submitted anonymously three critical suggestions in a small-character poster. Although this was not an appropriate way to handle the matter, whatever was suggested in the poster was the truth. Su Wenyi, overlooking his own mistake, making a big issue out of the poster, ordered the deputy director to take a leave of absence while being investigated for one and a half months. He even mobilized the masses more than 20 times to criticize the deputy director. He accused the latter of being "the Lin Biao of the Diesel Engine Factory," the "opposition to the Party Committee," and declared that he would be "arrested and punished according to the law." Su Wenyi, regarding

intellectuals as "targets of united reform", insisted that the science and technology personnel with the laborers," follow the laborers to work every day, and said, "You should sweat as much as the laborers." When scientists and technicians applied for external study to enhance professional knowledge, Su never gave permission. In addition to this, he did not pay attention to the livelihood of the scientists and technologists of the factory. Housing distribution for them was last as the priority list. Because the intellectual policy of the party was not implemented here, many scientists and technicians applied to be transferred. As a result, the production quota projected for the first five months of this year was unreachd, the quantity and quality of the products could not be improved, and economic results dropped markedly.

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## NORTH REGION

### BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL CADRE EDUCATION--At present, Nei Monggol Region has some 110 party schools, cadres' schools and institutions for managerial cadres. Some 140,000 cadres, 29.9 percent of the region's total number of cadres, are being trained on rotation. [Excerpt] [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Sep 84 SK]

SHANXI CPPCC WORK--Shanxi Province has made new developments in implementing the policy toward members of the national, provincial, city, and county CPPCC committees. A total of 1,101 of 1,449 nonparty CPPCC members at the national, provincial, city, and county levels in the province who have different kinds of troubles have been well treated. Also, 1,537 of 1,775 cases concerning implementing the policy toward CPPCC members have been well handled. [Summary] [Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 84 p 1]

SHANXI RETIRED CADRE MEETING--A Shanxi provincial retired cadre representative meeting concluded on 8 September. Responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee presented awards to advanced collectives and model individuals. The closing ceremony and presentation of awards took place in the Taiyuan Workers' Palace. Responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee Li Xiuren, Wang Senhao, (Feng Jiangong), Zhang Jianmin, Lu Gongxun, and others presented awards to 21 advanced units in work concerning veteran cadres, including the Licheng County CPC Committee, and handed awards and certificates to 100 model individual retired cadres and 4 model individuals engaged in work concerning veteran cadres. The meeting ended amid enthusiastic applause. [Excerpts] [HK090241 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Sep 84]

TIANJIN FAMILY PLANNING--Since the implementation of the family planning policy, Tianjin's birth rate has dropped over 50 percent. The average number of children born to each couple has declined from 4.2 in the 1960's to 1.6 at present, and the multibirth rate has dropped from 30 percent in the early 1970's to 0.5 percent in 1983. So far some 1.1 million people in the municipality have undergone contraceptive operations, of whom, over 45 percent have undergone such operations after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The proportion of young people in total population has dropped from 45 percent in the 1970's to the present 25 percent. [Summary] [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 7 Sep 84 SK]

TIANJIN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COMMITTEE--The 14th standing committee meeting of the 10th Tianjin Municipal People's Congress opened yesterday morning at the office building of the municipal people's congress standing committee organ. Zhang Zaiwang, chairman of the municipal people's congress standing committee, presided over the meeting. The meeting first adopted the agenda of this municipal standing committee meeting which was put forward by the 15th chairmanship meeting of the municipal people's congress standing committee. The agenda of this meeting is: First, hear and examine a report by the municipal people's government on urban construction and make a relevant resolution; second, hear and examine a report by the municipal people's government on the implementation of the food hygienic law and make a relevant resolution; and third, a report on the appointment and removal of personnel. Participants in the meeting also heard a report by Mao Changwu, adviser of the municipal people's government, on reconstruction after the earthquake in order to promote the development of the municipal urban construction. [Excerpt] [SK140310 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 14 Sep 84]

CSO: 4005/017

## NORTHEAST REGION

### HEILONGJIANG DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONGRESSES OPEN

SK120415 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 11 Sep 84

[Excerpts] The second provincial congress of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the fourth provincial congress of the Federation of Industry and Commerce opened in Harbin on the afternoon of 11 September. A total of 283 representatives participated in the congresses. Some of the representatives were old comrades who had long been engaged in economic work and who had enthusiastically served the work of the association and the federation and some of them were new forces who made contributions to the four modernizations.

The main tasks of the congresses are to sum up the work in the past 4 years and to elect leading organs in accordance with the guidelines of the fourth congress of the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the Fifth National Congress of the Federation of Industry and Commerce so as to create a new situation in our province's work of the association and the federation.

On behalf of the provincial CPC committee and the provincial government, Hou Jie, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee and vice governor of the provincial government, extended greetings to the congresses.

Guo Shouchang, chairman of the provincial committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the provincial federation of industry and commerce, delivered a work report entitled "Work With One Heart and One Mind and Advance Bravely To Create a New Situation in the Work of the Association and the Federation Under the Leadership of the Party."

CSO: 4005/891



NORTHEAST REGION

HEILONGJIANG REHABILITATED INTELLECTUALS HOLD FORUM

SK210409 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 20 Sep 84

[Excerpts] Some senior intellectuals in Harbin City, who were wrongly treated during the Great Cultural Revolution and were rehabilitated after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, held a forum today at the Harbin City Intermediate People's Court to discuss the necessity of totally negating the Cultural Revolution and to praise the party's policy on intellectuals.

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Harbin City Intermediate People's Court has reversed the verdicts of 148 false or frameup cases occurring in the Cultural Revolution, which were involved in intellectuals. Of these cases, those involved in senior intellectuals are 14 cases.

Senior intellectuals attending the forum happily introduced their work done in the period since their rehabilitation. They pledged to give full scope to their intelligence and wisdom before they die and to make more contributions to the motherland's program of building the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/891

NORTHEAST REGION

JILIN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SESSION CONCLUDES

SK140115 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 13 Sep 84

[Text] The 3-day ninth Standing Committee session of the Sixth Jilin Provincial People's Congress concluded this afternoon at Changchun's (Nanhu) Guesthouse. Yu Ke, chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, spoke on thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution.

The session heard and discussed Provincial Governor Zhao Xiu's report on Jilin Provincial Government delegation's visits to Canada, France and Denmark and a report of (Wang Qing), director of the provincial personnel bureau, to explain the revision of the Jilin Provincial Provisional Regulations on Personnel Appointment and Removal by Local People's Governments at and Above the County Level. It discussed and approved the Jilin Provincial Provisional Regulations on Land Management; the Jilin Provincial Regulations on Protecting the Legal Rights and Interests of Women and Children; a decision on revision of the Jilin Provincial Provisional Regulations on Personnel Appointment and Removal by Local People's Governments at and Above the County Level; a decision on designating Changbai Korean Autonomous County as a remote area with very poor transport facilities; and a decision on extending the time limit for handling major complicated criminal cases. It also approved personnel changes.

The participating comrades conscientiously discussed the negation of the Cultural Revolution in line with the actual situation of our province. They unanimously held: The Cultural Revolution was a domestic turmoil with deep and wide pernicious influence and very serious danger. Only when we thoroughly negate the Cultural Revolution can we eradicate the leftist pernicious influence, implement the party's lines, principles, and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, fulfill the general task and the general objective set forth at the 12th National Party Congress, and speed up the construction of the two civilizations. Intensive education in thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution is a necessity not only for every party member but also for state organ personnel and the masses.

A total of 41 persons attended the session. They included vice chairmen Yang Zhantao, Cheng Shengsan, Wu Duo, Cui Cai, Wang Jiren, Yu Ruihuang, Dong Su, renqinshamusu, and Zhu Jinghang, and members of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee. Attending as nonvoting delegates were provincial Vice Governor Wang Jinshan; responsible persons of the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate and provincial departments concerned; responsible persons of the people's congress Standing Committees of various cities, autonomous prefectures, counties and city districts; and responsible persons of various prefectural commissioner's offices.

NORTHEAST REGION

LIAONING INTELLECTUAL WORK CONFERENCE OPENS

SK210507 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 20 Sep 84

[Text] The provincial intellectual work conference sponsored by the provincial CPC committee and the provincial government opened in Shenyang today.

The conference concentrated on reform of the talented personnel management system and putting into full play the functions of intellectuals in order to further upgrade the whole party's understanding of knowledge and intellectuals in the new era in the course of party rectification. It also discussed and studied a series of principles, policies, and measures for exchanging talented persons and promoting, employing and appointing intellectuals, providing them with part-time jobs, rewarding and further educating them by implementing the policy on intellectuals, improving their working and living conditions, and strengthening the party's leadership over intellectual work.

Over 190 persons attended the conference, including secretaries and deputy secretaries of all city CPC committees, vice mayors, responsible persons of the provincial and city departments concerned and all democratic party members, secretaries of party committees of some universities, colleges, scientific research units, and industrial and mining enterprises, and deputy secretaries of the county CPC committees.

CSO: 4005/891

## NORTHEAST REGION

### BRIEFS

**JILIN MINORITY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT**--Over the 35 years since the PRC's founding, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Jilin Province has achieved rapid development in educational and cultural undertakings in the autonomous areas of minority nationalities. As of 1980, the province had reopened all of 116 minority primary and middle schools throughout the province, which were disbanded or merged into other schools during the Great Cultural Revolution, and also built a minority teachers' college and 41 minority middle schools. At present, the province has 824 minority primary schools, 157 minority middle schools. The areas where minority nationalities exercise autonomy have 7 secondary vocational schools and 3 higher educational institutions. The province's enrolling rate of school-age children of minority nationalities has reached 94.3 percent. Since the PRC's founding, the province has also achieved relatively rapid development in culture, music, fine art, and dance in the autonomous areas of minority nationalities. Now, the province has 17 specialized literary and art troupes of minority nationalities and 170 cultural halls and centers. [Excerpts] [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 9 Sep 84 SK]

**JILIN JUDICIAL CADRES' COLLEGE**--The Jilin Provincial Judicial and Procuratorial Administrative Cadres' College--the first institute of higher learning in the province to train judicial and procuratorial administrative cadres--was inaugurated this morning in Changchun and held an opening ceremony. Attending the opening ceremony were provincial party and government leaders, including Gao Di, Yu Lin, Yu Ke, Li Diping, Yang Zhantao, Wang Jiren, Xin Cheng, Wang Xianjin, and Liu Shulin, and responsible comrades of departments concerned. Comrade Gao Di spoke. Most of the first group of 500 students are young and middle-aged cadres of public security departments, procuratorates, courts, and judicial departments. They will complete more than 20 specialized courses, such as courses in criminal law, civil law, economic law and legal theory, in 2 to 3 years. [Text] [SK120040 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 10 Sep 84 SK]

**LIAONING DISCIPLINE INSPECTION FORUM**--Recently, the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission held a forum at which Xu Shaofu, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, delivered a speech on facilitating discipline inspection work to support or promote the drive of conducting reforms and on achieving an obvious turn for the better in party style this year. In referring to the province's prevailing situation in party style, Xu Shaofu stated: Efforts should be made to vigorously block the evil practices of seeking private gain by taking advantage of power and of serious bureaucracy. This is the emphasis of our work in the latter months of this year and is also the major problem to be continuously dealt with in 1985. Prior to the end of 1984, efforts should be made to investigate or deal with a large number of cases of serious bureaucracy and not being responsible for work. [Text] [SK200922 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 19 Sep 84]

## NORTHWEST REGION

### CIVIL ADJUDICATION PROCEDURES IMPROVED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 84 p 2

[Article by staff correspondent Luo Qingshan [5012 7230 1472]:  
"A Change From 'Justice Nowhere in Evidence' to 'Justice  
Delivered to Your Doorsteps.' A New Overall Situation in  
Civil Adjudication in Our Province"]

This correspondent learned at the fourth working conference on civil adjudication that among the more than 41,900 civil cases adjudicated in this province from January last year to June this year, 81 percent were concluded by mediation after probing deeply into the facts or by withdrawal of the cases by the parties after appropriate work. These solutions conflict with the new atmosphere at the grassroot level, which resulted from people's courts at all levels carrying out one step further a reform to provide "better service" and "greater conveniences" for the people.

Looking at the experiences of such units as the Tumen Court in Xian City, the Fengyu Court in Changan County and the intermediate court of Yulin Prefecture, we see that they adopted on the whole the following measures of reform: they changed the "yamen style of work" into a style of "moving out to handle cases," gained the initiative in their work, and enabled the masses that applied for help to save extended movements, loss of working time, monetary expenses, and causing an earlier end to their anxieties. They changed the method of "single-handed handling" to a method of walking "on two legs," strengthened the guidance in the affairs of the grassroots mediation committees, reduced the rate of cases brought into court, achieved the prompt resolution of a large number of civil disputes at the basic level and had them eliminated in the "embryonic stage." They changed the system of "handling cases by sitting with great pose in court" to a method of "squatting down for a time at the grassroots units, get hold of a slice, go a stretch of road, handle cases by making the rounds," thus strengthening the sense of

responsibility for serving the people in the adjudicating personnel and raising the effectiveness and quality of the way cases are handled. They changed the situation of "justice nowhere in evidence" to one of "justice being delivered to your doorsteps," by establishing branch stations in outlying villages and fixing "reception days" when someone will have been dispatched to the "station" to receive and deal with the people that may come in. They changed the attitude of "cold-faced" hearing of cases to one of "warmhearted" propagation and dissemination of education in the legal system, getting the masses to know the law, observe the law and on their own accord uphold the sanctity of the law. All these changes were well received by the people and contributed to an ever improving security of our public order.

A leading comrade of the provincial higher court told this reporter: doing a good job in adjudicating civil cases is a matter of great importance in our efforts to realize the overall tasks and objectives of the party and an important affair that touches on the interests of thousands upon thousands of households; it is certainly not a small matter of "womanishly fuss" or "chicken feathers and garlic skin." In the last 2 years, a new overall situation in this line of work has indeed been initially opened up, precisely through this kind of vigorous pursuit of a high degree of ideological unity and professional improvement on the part of our contingent of adjudicators of civil cases.

9808

CSO: 4005/850

**NORTHWEST REGION**

**FORUM ON PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK HELD**

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by Zheng Gang [6774 6921]: "Provincial Party Committee Convenes Second-Term Work Forum on Party Rectification Experimental Points"]

[Text] From 2 to 3 August, the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee convened the second-term work conference on party rectification experimental points to carry out discussion in a penetrating way on how to handle well our work at the party rectification experimental points for the second term.

Li Xipu [2621 3305 3302], secretary of the provincial party committee, and Qiao Mingfu [0829 2494 3940], head of the liaison group of the central guidance committee stationed in Shaanxi, gave speeches at the forum. They pointed out that the purpose of carrying out party rectification experimental points is to unite the basic principles, basic tasks and basic policies and methods of the party rectification this time with our own actual situations in order to explore the concrete experiences of districts and departments with different situations in their effort to carry out party rectification and thereby resolutely and creatively implement the central decision on party rectification, comprehensively realize the goals and requirements of the party rectification this time, so as to make it possible for our party rectification work to achieve outstanding results. The experimental points selected this time may have different models and may be explored in different ways so that we can sum up our experiences in doing a good job in our party rectification work in a comprehensive way. They also emphatically pointed out that party rectification below the country level should be something different from that in the province and the municipalities. In units below the county level, the problem of people plotting for private gains by taking advantage of their power and thereby encroaching upon the interests of the masses is more common; the various regions and municipalities should energetically put a stop to unhealthy practices in this regard according to their own situations.

Secretaries of the province's 10 prefectural and municipal party committees and responsible comrades of party rectification offices of the economic system, the science and education system, and the national defense scientific work system attended the forum.

9255

CS0: 4005/820

## NORTHWEST REGION

### NON-PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO HELP OUT IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 9 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "Party Committee of Autonomous Region Convenes Conference of Responsible Cadres Within and Without Party; Circularizes Party Rectification Situation in Our Autonomous Regions and Asks Non-party Friends To Help in Party Rectification"]

[Text] In the forenoon of 8 August, the party committee of our autonomous region convened a conference of responsible cadres within and without the party at the auditorium of Ningxia Guest House. Li Xuezhi [2621 1331 2535], secretary of the party committee of the autonomous region, He Tingzao [6787 1694 5679], deputy secretary of the party committee of the autonomous regions, and Nie Jifeng [5119 3444 1496], chief of the liaison group of the central guidance committee stationed in Ningxia attended the conference and gave speeches. They introduced the party rectification situation in our region to the 200 and more responsible persons from democratic parties and groups and the industry and commerce association of the autonomous regions, non-party democratic personalities, and party-member responsible cadres of organs directly under the jurisdiction of the region.

In his speech, Comrade He Tingzao put emphasis on the question of asking non-party friends to actively help our party rectification effort. He said, since we began our party rectification at the end of last year, the regional party committee adopted various ways to sincerely listen to, and solicit, the views of non-party friends; this has played a positive role in heightening our ideological perception, improving our workstyle, and overcoming our bureaucratism. But there exist still some problems; for example, some units did not go far and extensive enough in listening to the views of non-party personalities. There are also individual units which have adopted a superficially polite but actually perfunctory attitude toward the views of non-party personalities and hence impaired the enthusiasm of certain non-party friends in helping the party rectification effort. In order to solve these problems, the regional party committee has asked the various units participating in our party rectification, especially the second batch of units which has begun to launch their party rectification campaign, to further study the central guidance committee's Circular No 3, recognize the importance of non-party friends helping our party rectification effort, and do a good job in listening to the views of non-party friends. Party committees and party leaders at all levels must set themselves



as examples, correctly treat the views and criticisms of non-party friends and at the same time educate the vast ranks of our party members in correctly treating comrades who come forward to offer suggestions; they are not allowed to attack or retaliate against them. With respect to such views and suggestions offered by non-party friends, party committees at all levels must conscientiously study them and put them into practice. That which cannot be done for the time being must also have its conditions explained so as to carry out our policy of making changes while in the process of rectification and making changes ahead of that process, follow the requirements of the central guidance committee, do a good job in our region's party rectification work, and make it possible for non-party friends as well as the vast ranks of the masses see our achievements in party rectification.

9255

CSO: 4005/820

TAIWAN

NEW PRESIDENT OF EXAMINATION YUAN APPOINTED

OW240355 Taipei CHUNG YANG JIH PAO in Chinese 18 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] Taipei, 17 Aug (CNA)--Presidential orders issued on 17 August 1984:

President Liu Chi-hung and Vice President Chang Tsung-liang of the Sixth Examination Yuan are removed from office at the expiration of their terms of office.

Kung Te-cheng [1313 1795 2052] and Lin Chin-sheng [2651 6855 3932] are hereby appointed president and vice president of the Seventh Examination Yuan respectively.

CSO: 4005/016

HONG KONG PEOPLE URGED TO TAKE POLITICAL ACTION BEFORE 1997

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese Aug 84 pp 68-69

[Article by Yin Hui-min: "Hong Kong: The State of Alarm Must Change"]

[Text] In a collection of newspaper funny columns there is a story that goes like this: In the past there was a man who was quite a bootlicker, and when his lifespan had ended he came to Hades and waited to be punished. The King of Hades sat in the main hall, turning over the pages of the Book of Life and Death with a forbidding expression. In proper order he examined every person's dates of birth and death and his or her conduct in the world. When this man's name was called on the roll, the King of Hades frowned, muttered to himself, and on his face was an expression of scorn.

At his moment there was a sudden sound: The King of Hades had farted. The man heard the noise and immediately opened his mouth and sang this song: "Prostrating myself before the Divine King, I excited the golden buttocks to grandly issue a precious fart--oh dear! It seemed like the sound of musical instruments and the scent of perfume curled around and lingered on...." To be able to sing while in this plight was really out of the ordinary. When the King of Hades heard the song, his imperial heart could not avoid a feeling of great pleasure, and therefore he ordered that leniency be used in meting out punishment to this man.

This bootlicker who flattered when in Hades, by waiting for a favorable moment to make a move, like being able to change a putrid "stink" into a magical effect, by luck evaded the pains of Purgatory. Men of letters and poets who are attacked politically and put in an unfavorable situation of course understand even more how to seize the opportune moment to speak some words that are "agreeable to the hearer." Even if they are unable to "reverse heaven and earth," they hope at the least, when in adverse circumstances, to get a favorable position.

Recently, following the "clarification" of Hong Kong's situation, this type of expression of opinion that is "agreeable to the hearer" seems to come out more and more, now in this aspect and now in that aspect, and unavoidably they cause people to connect them in their minds with this story in the collection of funny columns.

Certain newspapers which act as mouthpieces for the Chinese communists have undertaken the mission of pacifying by propaganda. It can be said that they blindly follow the policies of the Beijing authorities, and their reactions to the current political situation are also completely predictable.

What could not be predicted was the reaction of some newspapers which boast of their neutrality. In the past they had founded their reputation on the independent expression of opinion, but, under realistic options, in order to "consider the overall situation," they not only report the position of their proprietors in their articles, but also "consciously" restrict bourgeois rights and adopt a policy of restraint toward other expressions of opinion in newspapers. Newspaper standards that had been established by painful trial over several decades look as if they will be destroyed in a moment. The power of the invisible hands controlling Hong Kong's destiny is really great.

If the survival philosophy of the Hong Kong people is "whoever understands the times is a great man," then all the appeals, shouts, and proposals were a waste of time. In fact, already some people criticize certain articles that analyze the current political situation as articles that win the good word and support of the people by words of flattery and acts of obsequiousness and that confuse and poison the people's minds. What the position articles of the proprietors of certain newspapers wage time and again is no more than that the Hong Kong people "serious and respectively strengthen themselves and not be alarmed at being in difficulties." But can "not being alarmed" solve problems? What should they do after "not being alarmed"? What countermeasures should be taken? How can the Hong Kong people devise a strategy which insures success? What price can be paid? About these questions people have said different things, but generally speaking the pessimism is greater than the optimism. Recently, with regard to the expressions of opinion about the stationing of troops, Hong Kong's market quotations took a sudden turn and collapsed after one setback. From this view, the appearance of articles that "understand the times" seem to also stem from this.

The state of being alarmed must change, but before the Hong Kong people consider the countermeasures to deal with the emergency, first of all they must make clear the difference between the expression of a united front and the policy of officials.

From a look at the stand of the Chinese communists, we see that the Sino-British talks have become more and more "clarified" and that this indicates that Britain is moving more and more toward meeting the demands of the Chinese communists, and therefore the attitude of the Chinese communists have become more and more unyielding (the Chinese communists have always boasted that they do not compromise with others on matters of principle.) Therefore, before the results of the talks are announced, "earth-shattering and heaven-battering" views could appear, and the Hong Kong people must be prepared in their minds for this. Recently, the expressions of opinions by the Chinese communist leaders have already been worded so as to repudiate and cast aside the tactics based on the united front of the former period. The talk of Deng Xiaoping even more bluntly shows that, on the question of Hong Kong, the policies, stand and principles of the Chinese communists are "firm and

unshakable" and "will not brook any interference." At the same time Deng has made it clear that, with regard to the solution of the Hong Kong problem, there are only the "legs" of China and Britain and there is no "three-legged stool"; no matter whether it is the Hong Kong people, officials, or councilmen, they have no right to speak in this regard.

Proceeding from this fundamental stand, it is not hard to infer what will be the Chinese communists' future policy on Hong Kong. With the Hong Kong people having no right to speak, the Chinese communists naturally will not tolerate the so-called method of voting by the whole people. To permit voting by the whole people would be the same as admitting the Hong Kong people's right to self-determination, and for the Chinese communists this would introduce an uncontrollable factor outside the status quo. Therefore, no matter how clumsy the heterodox principles spoken about by the director of the Hong Kong Office of the XINHUA News Agency are, the Chinese communists are certain to veto the proposal for voting by the whole people.

What the Chinese Communists hope is that, after the Sino-British agreement is issued this year, Hong Kong will be able to maintain the status quo until 1997. After 1997, when the Chinese communists have taken back sovereignty and the right to rule and have put into effect the fundamental law, the situation will begin to enter another transitional stage of a different nature. Whether the formulation of the fundamental law must be stipulated by international agreements is a matter now in dispute between the Chinese and British sides, with the Chinese communists insisting that this is an internal question and should not have international restraints and Britain maintaining that if there is not, the rights and interests of the Hong Kong people will not be adequately guaranteed. If, before the Falkland Islands campaign, Britain had drawn up a plan in its talks with Argentina and would have already made concessions to Argentina to achieve its position to that extent, it would be bound to be more compromising toward the Chinese Communists. This is why Deng Xiaoping with one hundred percent confidence said "Hong Kong is not the Malvinas Islands [Falkland Islands]" and "China is not Argentina."

The guarantee that the system will not change is the Chinese communists' "magnanimous" policy toward Hong Kong, but the Hong Kong people, drawing a lesson from the capriciousness of the Chinese Communist political situation in the past, lack faith in their guarantees. The Chinese communists think that, under the circumstances in which sovereignty is not adversely affected, this is the biggest concession. If there must be restricting factors introduced from outside before there is confidence, it would be the same as negating the Chinese communists' sovereignty over Hong Kong. This is something the Chinese communists are unable to accept. At present, there is a deadlock on the problem of confidence, and there is a very big gap between the "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" in Deng Xiaoping's mouth--sending the Liberation Army to be stationed in Hong Kong and having patriots "recommended" by the Hong Kong people and "appointed" by the Chinese communists form the leading group ruling Hong Kong--and the "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" in the mind of the ordinary person in Hong Kong.

The reality before their eyes perhaps long ago made the Hong Kong people weary of those pedantic cries for "democracy." However, while clearly seeing

the communists' stand, we cannot but examine another factor making up today's difficult situation. For this factor we will tentatively borrow a technical term of the "study of developing economies" and call it the "pitfall of low equilibrium." In the "study of developing economies," when coordinating and utilizing natural resources, labor forces, funds, and other production factors, some underdeveloped countries frequently attain a state of low equilibrium, and the entire economy turns round and round in this state and cannot make a breakthrough, and therefore this forms a "pitfall." For Hong Kong, the "pitfall of low equilibrium" does not appear in the economy but in politics. A large part of the residents of Hong Kong are common people who over the years had crossed south to find a shelter in times of unrest and disaster, and what they pursued was a kind of petty and low power that would "run its course." Britain's colonial Hong Kong satisfied their needs, but the political structure of a colony in itself at the same time restricted the further expansion of political power. We only need to look at the makeup of the Legislative Council members for many years to know its broad outline. Under these circumstances, the ordinary Hong Kong people's reaction to the term "cardinal principle of nationalism" is, of course, indifference, but when they form parties and take part in politics, breaking with the status quo, their interest will not be aroused. The great majority of Hong Kong people are able to enjoy the minimum standards of economic life, and they have the right to let politics "run its course." Although they are not leisurely and carefree, they are able to seek more wealth for themselves, and for a long time they have naturally fallen into the pitfall of low equilibrium, and when political changes occur all of a sudden they feel that they have been caught unaware. Those who have the means continue to flee for their lives, seeking once again a place that will let them "run their course." Those without the means seem to have to quietly await the approach of 1997 in an atmosphere of pessimism that they have no alternative.

The system will and should change. No matter whether it is the capitalist system or the socialist system, they both have a politically progressive nature. The so-called no change in the system means that there should be no change in the fundamental operating rules of a system (for example, the market function), and does not mean to stifle its tendency to develop forward, causing it to be static or atrophy. The Chinese communists' plan for Hong Kong seems to be a desire to "continue to maintain" prosperity before 1997, but politically to turn Britain in Hong Kong into a "lame duck" unable to fully exercise its right to rule, and one goal in setting up a "sino-British Joint Group" is to prevent the emergence in Hong Kong of political developments similar to those in other British colonies.

However, it is not easy to forecast the political evolution in the period before 1997. In other words, in the political structure of a colonial system, if the Hong Kong people want to break free from their "pitfall" they still have an opportunity to make changes.

Looking at the evolutionary pattern of British colonies in Asia and Africa, the first stage is always that the queen appoints a governor to form a cabinet and set up executive and legislative committees (or councils), and with the governor as the chairman of the executive committee, appointing from among its members persons to take charge of governmental and financial

work. The second stage is constitutionalism, with the overwhelming majority of the members of the legislative committee being elected. Although the governor has the right to dissolve the legislative committee, a general election for it must be held within a short period of time. In the third stage, political parties begin to emerge, political programs are issued, and political parties are formally organized. The fourth stage is the one in which the citizens vote to decide the future status of the territory. Because Hong Kong's situation is special, coupled with the factor that the relations between China and Britain are delicate, the process of "decolonialization" cannot progress to the fourth stage, and this is innately determined. But the present situation is one in which the process has stopped between the first and second stages without progressing.

The recent discussion of the work of formulating the "fundamental law" is analogous to the constitutionalism of the second stage, but obviously it cannot be like that in some areas and Britain's Privy Council runs everything singlehandedly. The Chinese communists are now insisting that they run everything (the so-called consulting Hong Kong people's opinions for the formulation of the fundamental law, or the inviting of Hong Kong people to take part in the formulation, is the same as "running everything"), and this has become a point of disagreement in the Sino-British talks. The Hong Kong people are placed in a dilemma: if they advocate that Britain run everything it is hard for them to avoid being labeled as "colonialist persons out of favor with their ruler and their parents"; if they allow the Chinese communists to run everything, they will be breathless with anxiety and uneasy. If the Chinese communists were willing to give a little thought to why the Hong Kong people would rather be "colonialist persons out of favor with their ruler and parents" than to throw themselves into the embrace of the motherland, they should become more clear about the fact that the ones who are truly disgraceful are they themselves and not their Hong Kong compatriots. Of course, political figures are unable to have this kind of power of understanding.

With regard to how to pass through the second stage and reach the third stage, laying a substantial foundation for "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong," the 13 years beginning from now until 1997 (actually it is less than 13 years) are, for the Hong Kong people, an important crucial period. This, I fear, is also the last and only opportunity before the end of colonial rule. If they are able to make good use of it and break free from the "pitfall of low equilibrium," moving from the "indirect influence" of the operations of pressure groups to the "direct participation" of political party activities, then in the negative sense, there may be accumulated some political bargaining chips for the future of the Hong Kong people; in the positive sense, the future of the Hong Kong people might even become a model for democratic politics on both sides of the strait.

In the final analysis, only by taking action will there be an "opportunity" for the Hong Kong people to control their destiny and will there be a "possibility" of changing Hong Kong's image of being "an economic giant but a political dwarf." If they do not take action, they will have to fold their hands and "quietly wait."

REVIEW OF RECENT EVENTS RELATED TO 1997 TAKEOVER

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese Aug 84 pp 66-67

[Article by the magazine's reference office: "The File on 1997 (21 June-20 July 1984)"]

[Text] Deng Xiaoping Proposes Sino-British Supervisory Group

The Sino-British Talks Work Group held its first meeting on 21 June. The members of the Chinese side were Ke Zaishuo [2688 0961 7007] (head of the group), Wu Jianfan [0702 1696 3879], Jiang Weiping [5592 4850 1456], Zhang Yu [1728 1938], Zhang Xianglin [1728 4382 7207], and Shi Jiuyong [0670 0036 1661]. Interpreter: Zhang Youyun [1728 1635 7189]. The meeting place was the International Club in Beijing and, according to reports, the work group will draft the Sino-British agreement.

When receiving a delegation of three Hong Kong industrial and commercial organizations on the 21st, Deng Xiaoping indicated that he knew Hong Kong had a problem of unstable confidence, and stated that two traditions should be upheld: refusing to be taken in by fallacies and saying what one means. In the delegation were T'ang Hsiang-ch'ien, Ni Shao-chieh, and others.

In a speech entitled "Our Times," delivered at a luncheon meeting of young managers on the 27th, Xu Jiatun [6079 1367 1470--director of the Hong Kong Office of XINHUA] denounced some persons for being colonialist "persons in disfavor with their rulers and parents."

The 17th round of the Sino-British talks was held in Beijing on the 27th. Before the talks began, Zhou Nan told (Evans) a story about the fire-phoenix, a story which was reported to have profound implications. WEN HUI BAO said Hong Kong was just like a phoenix being reborn amid raging flames. The talks concluded on the 28th, and were said to have been useful and constructive.

On the 28th, Wang Guangying [3769 0342 5391] [a director of the China Investment Bank] announced the complete cancellation of the purchase of the Pa-ch'uang Building in the Municipal Botanical Garden, getting the down payment and interest back. This deal involved about 1 billion Hong Kong dollars, and it was said that Hong Kong city is like a "ribbon of cattlehide in a pool of stagnant water."



According to news reports, at the talks the British side did not reply to Deng Xiaoping's proposal for a joint supervisory group for the transitional period, deeming it too sensitive.

When receiving a visiting delegation of Hong Kong pedlars and traders, Ji Pengfei [1213 7720 7378] said that after 1997 there would be no problem for small retailers and that they would not be suppressed.

After his visit to China, former U.S. ambassador Woodcock said that Deng Xiaoping had said there was no need for anxiety about Hong Kong's future. He thought that within several years Deng will completely retire backstage.

CHING PAO disclosed that Deng Xiaoping and Geng Biao had made self criticisms with regard to their talk about the question of stationing troops in Hong Kong.

Li Zhong [2621 3095], editor in chief of the Hong Kong Office of XINHUA News Agency, the freedom of the press in Hong Kong will not be changed and the rightists will have equal freedom to run newspapers.

Zhou Nan [0719 0589--assistant minister in the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs] said that the problem of Macao would be solved, when conditions were ripe, by Sino-Portuguese talks. Macao Governor Costa said that there will be no talks in this century.

The 18th round in the Sino-British talks began in Beijing on 11 July and ended the next day, but were still said to be useful and constructive. Foreign correspondents thought the talks had ended in an atmosphere of crisis. The Chinese said the joint group would play an advisory supervisory role.

Ji Pengfei cordially received Hong Kong "social activist" Yeh Hsi-en, and Yeh said that China is being very patient in handling the Hong Kong question.

China accepted the proposal by a visiting delegation of clothing manufacturers that independence in foreign trade be maintained.

A delegation of Hong Kong stockbrokers visited Beijing and proposed that shares in the special economic zone be put on the market on a trial basis. Ji Pengfei expressed his agreement in principle.

He Shizhu said the situation of "the joint group ruling Hong Kong" will not arise, and pro-Chinese figures might take part in politics by inspecting the Hong Kong government's operations.

China declared that Li Xiannian's and Peng Zhen's right to speak on the Hong Kong question had been formalized.

#### Chung Shih-yuan and Two Other Councilmen Visit Beijing

On 21 June, at the invitation of Xu Jiatusun, Chung Shi-yuan, Teng Lien-ju, and Li Kuo-wei, members of the Executive Council, visited Beijing. Before their trip, on which they would stay at the Jianguo Hotel, Chung Shih-yuan said that, in the status of members of the two councils, they would frankly reflect the

wishes, worries and misgivings of the Hong Kong people; 23 councilmen saw them off, and the administrative office said Chung and the others would pay their own expenses on the trip.

On the 23d, Deng Xiaoping received Chung Shih-yuan and the other two councilmen, saying that he welcomed them in their status as individuals and that he understood that there were many different opinions but he did not think they represented the Hong Kong people's interests. The Sino-British talks, he said, are only a two-legged stool and there is no third leg. He advocated that a 13-year joint group be set up in Hong Kong. Chung read his written proposals, and the meeting lasted one and a half hours. Chung said that the talks had been "frank and detailed," and that when he had been rebuked by Deng he was not afraid and that such things were common in politics. In the evening the three persons and Ji Pengfei attended a working banquet.

On the 25th, Chung Shih-yuan and the others returned to Hong Kong, and he said at a press conference that Deng Xiaoping thought that Hong Kong did not have a problem of confidence, and that Chung and the others were not able to convince him that there was. This trip was important and also memorable. Of their three proposals, Ji Pengfei only agreed to the one for a detailed agreement with a binding force, and said he would consider the other two. (They are the drafting of a fundamental law in Hong Kong and the setting up of a committee on the fundamental legal system composed of Chinese with international prestige.) On the 26th, Chung replied to a question by saying that the statement that Deng Xiaoping did not think Hong Kong had a problem of confidence was only the conclusion drawn by the three of them. Yang Zi [2799 1142], deputy secretary general of the Hong Kong Office of XINHUA, pointed out that Chung Shih-yuan had not used Deng Xiaoping's original words and that Deng had many times spoken of the problem of confidence. CPPCC member He Zhizhu [0148 0013 2934] also pointed out that the councilmen had misunderstood Deng's remarks. On the 27th, Chung and the others issued a statement reiterating that they had not misinterpreted Deng's remarks.

The governor of Hong Kong held that the visit to Beijing by Chung Shih-yuan and the others had been extremely successful but that it would not affect the Sino-British talks, and that he had confidence in Chung Shih-yuan and the others.

On the 28th, the XINHUA News Agency announced that it had put on record the content of Deng Xiaoping's conversation with Chung Shih-yuan and the others and Deng Xiaoping's conversation with T'ang Hsiang-ch'ien and the others. On the 29th, the Office of the Members of the Executive Council and the Legislative Council also issued a record of the conversations.

A group of university students issued a statement saying that Hong Kong really had a problem of confidence.

#### Difference of Opinion Between (Evans) and Youde

In Taipei (Wall), a member of the British Parliament, said: If the Sino-British agreement does not fully tally with the popular will of Hong Kong,

the lower house of Parliament will not approve it. On 2 July, (Evans) for the first time went back to Britain for consultations, and the governor of Hong Kong [Youde] also went to Britain and met with him, the conjecture being that their trips related to the setting up of a joint group for the period of transition.

In a letter of reply to the Free Hong Kong Committee, the British Foreign office indicated that Britain was seeking through the talks a guarantee that Hong Kong's social system would not change.

Yeh Hsi-en assailed the Legislative Council's debate on the legal system and its future, saying that the councilmen were completely without new ideas and that he suspected they were obstructing the talks.

An article in the SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST brought up five forecasts and five dangers with regard to the Hong Kong question, including that Britain would "fade out" 13 years earlier in return for "fading in" for 13 years after 1997; that what China will gain from the talks will make it easier for it to lose its circumspection; that factional strife among the Chinese communists will impel them to strike out at Britain in order to show their power; and that the joint group would interfere in Hong Kong politics.

On the 7th, the governor of Hong Kong and (Mairuobin) returned to Hong Kong respectively from London and Beijing, and both said that the talks were proceeding normally and that nothing dramatic had developed in them. It was said that the British prime minister did not welcome the supervisory group, but that it was unavoidable that Britain would be forced to accept it.

The British Foreign Ministry issued the itinerary for Second Foreign Secretary Luce's visit to Hong Kong and said that no crisis had appeared in the Sino-British talks. Luce will seek to make a counterproposal to the Chinese side with regard to the supervisory group, and the Chinese side is inclined to elevate this group into a "transitional government," whose life could extend beyond 1997.

In London, Teng Lien-ju indicated that she is highly optimistic about Hong Kong's future and that she believes its achievements in the future will be more brilliant than at present.

The Legislative Council adjourned its debate, and Li Peng-fei said the position of a free Hong Kong must be maintained and that the future stand of foreign countries on the question of future trade with Hong Kong should be immediately ascertained. Su Kuò-jung issued the "10 memorials" for putting a good administration in place that would never exert pressure on Hong Kong.

On the 12th Luce arrived in Hong Kong, and advised the Hong Kong people to keep calm and not create a mood of crisis. He said the Chinese side's proposal for a supervisory group had caused a contradiction within the British side, with Youde opposing it and (Evans) approving it, and that he had come to Hong Kong to make a survey in order that the foreign secretary could make a decision on the matter. In Beijing, the governor of Hong Kong said that in

his dictionary there was no term "joint advisory group," and that he firmly believed that in the 13 years the Hong Kong government would not become a "lame duck." Luce indicated that the Sino-British agreement could be reached in September, and that Britain likewise itself agreed to the establishment of the joint supervisory group, which was opposed by the members of the two councils, who worried that it would become a shadow government. Howe will come to Hong Kong to persuade the council members to accept the Sino-British agreement. Before leaving Hong Kong, Luce stated that Britain would insist on its right to rule Hong Kong during the 13 years. The way to measure the reaction of the Hong Kong people to the draft agreement would be: Britain will set up an office in Hong Kong to collect the people's ideas on it and send them to Parliament for its reference.

#### Hong Kong Government Issues Green Book on Representative System

On 18 July in the Legislative Council, the governor of Hong Kong announced the green book on the representatives system, the contents of which included that the powers of the Hong Kong governor will not change up to the beginning of the nineties, that the number of nonofficial members and elected members of the two councils will gradually increase while the number of appointed members will gradually decrease, and that direct elections to the two councils will not be held in order to avoid causing a situation of antagonism between political parties. About 30 organizations will take concerted action to strive for popular elections to the Legislative Council. The governor of Hong Kong stressed that in the development of the representative system consideration must be given to parity between the forces of all sides and that good relations must be maintained with China.

Li Zhong, editor in chief of the Hong Kong Office of XINHUA, stated: The representative system will be undertaken by Britain, and China will not assume any obligation for it. The reaction of the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry was the same as that of Li Zhong. Lawyer Liao Yao-chu fiercely assailed the green book as having its aim contending with China in propping up a puppet, and called for a boycott of voter registration. In principle Hu Shi-zhu agreed with the reform pattern of progressing step by step in proper order. The members of the Legislative Council favored the green book and considered it practicable, and the district councilmen oppose indirect elections.

In Parliament Foreign Secretary Howe declared that the Hong Kong government will set up a popular will estimation office which will survey the degree of acceptance of the Sino-British agreement, and there will be a group to supervise it. Before the signing of the agreement itself, the estimate of the popular will be made public.

In setting up the popular will estimation office, the Hong Kong government appointed (Maifacheng), director of the New Territories Government Affairs Office, to be its chief.

(Jida), a British attache stationed in Hong Kong, pointed out that Howe was a weak negotiator who yields too much too fast, something which has amazed the Chinese side. He went around selling the idea that Britain should

increase the number of Hong Kong immigrants it takes in, so as to strengthen its negotiating power.

#### Hong Kong Cultural Figures Visit Taiwan

Some people suggested that Hong Kong people emigrate to the Penghu Islands and set up a little Hong Kong, and Taipei indicated that it had not yet considered the emigration of the Hong Kong people to the Penghu Islands. The port of Hualien in eastern Taiwan is also desired as a site for the setting up of a little Hong Kong.

Tseng Kuang-shun, chairman of Taipei's Overseas Chinese Committee, told 28 Hong Kong cultural figures that there is no quota for Hong Kong Chinese who migrate to Taiwan, and, except for those who have close relations with the Communist Party, any person from Hong Kong will be admitted. He exhorted this group of cultural figures to remain in Hong Kong and fight for freedom. Tseng said there could occur problems within these 13 years and that sovereignty would not necessarily fall into the hands of the Chinese communists. The Taiwan authorities are extremely solicitous for the 500,000 pro-Taiwan people in Hong Kong and will relax entrance restrictions for them, and Taiwan's capital in Hong Kong will be shifted to Singapore.

(Tasutasuki Takahisa), the Japanese consul in Hong Kong, said that Japanese capital will remain in Hong Kong as Japan wants to help maintain Hong Kong's international position.

The Federation of Public Affairs Personnel Unions, composed of 25 unions, was set up, and its chairman, Huang Wei-hsiung, said that it would reflect to the Chinese and British governments' opinions about the future.

A representative of college students said that, faced with the impact of the 1997 problem, the students dreaded the Communist Party and did not understand China, and that they should abandon self-centeredness, heighten their political vigilance, and be concerned for society. The Federation of College Students should be invited to visit the mainland.

Two groups of 10 lawyers and other specialized figures published an open letter, stressing that the human rights of the Hong Kong people and the legal independence of Hong Kong must be clearly incorporated in the fundamental law.

According to statistics of the Taiwan Ministry of Education, in 1981 there were 3,000-odd Hong Kong people studying in Taiwan's colleges, and in 1983, there were an additional 130 studying in elementary and middle schools in Taiwan.

The Dalai Lama's prime minister-in-exile on 5 July said in London that Hong Kong should learn from Tibet's mistakes, and he expressed doubts about any Sino-British agreements.

Lian Yihui [5114 6146 2585], a personage who had come to Hong Kong from the mainland, in a letter implored U.S. Secretary of State Shultz to express

support for the safeguarding of the Hong Kong people's freedom and the casting of votes by all the people of Hong Kong.

The book "Frank Talk," expressing the opinions of prominent young people on the 1997 question, was published. It said the most important factors in Hong Kong's success were the present system and the freedom of the individual.

Lawyer Liao Yao-chu said that the supervisory group would not engage in politics and that it would be beneficial for Hong Kong. He thought it would be inadvisable for Hong Kong to have political parties. Ho Hung-yen thought that setting up the supervisory group in Hong Kong would make the Hong Kong people feel in control.

It was rumored that the governor would grant special amnesty to people coming from China, and that in the first half of the year the number of persons who had illegally crossed over into Hong Kong rose to a little over 3,600.

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CHUNG SHIH-YUAN INTERVIEWED ON HONG KONG'S FUTURE

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese Aug 84 pp 56-67

[Article: "Exclusive Interview With Chung Shih-yuan"]

[Text] Time: 17 July 1984

Place: Office of the Nonofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils

Interviewers: Li I and Fang Su

How is China's intervention to be estimated? Does Britain plan to extend the life of the Sino-British Work Group? What is the representative system? Will the present members of the two councils stand for election? How does the nonofficial councilman feel about taking up the pose of chief of the Executive Council? Who are the successors to the Executive Council?

Foreword

Since China and Britain began talks on the question of Hong Kong's future the year before last, Mr Chung Shih-yuan, nonofficial councilman and chief of the Executive Council has been a key figure. In April of this year, British Foreign Secretary Howe announced that in 1997 Britain would renounce its sovereign rule over Hong Kong, after which the nonofficial members of the Executive Council, who had been sticking to the principle of secrecy, broke their silence and, together with nonofficial members of the Legislative Council, collected and expressed the opinions and anxieties of the Hong Kong people about their future. Traveling to London and Beijing, as well as being on Hong Kong's political stage, Mr Chung Shih-yuan was the embodiment of public opinion.

Chung Shih-yuan and other members of the two councils were not elected by the people, and he himself admits that he is not a representative of the Hong Kong people, so do the direct and sharp opinions he expresses reflect the widespread popular will of Hong Kong? This is not only a matter of dispute in Hong Kong, London, and Beijing, but it has also led to a survey of the popular will. In addition, because of Chung Shih-yuan's position, his style of conversation, handling of affairs, and work style have been topics discussed by people. With China and Britain about to initial the agreement

on Hong Kong's future, an estimation of the popular will will affect the formal signing at the end of the year, and therefore the role of the two councils and Mr Chung will be even more conspicuous in the next 6 months. Against this background this magazine especially requested a fairly long interview with Mr Chung in order to understand his broad views about the question of Hong Kong's future.

The central topic of the interview was, with the prospect of China taking back Hong Kong's sovereignty in 1977, the 13-year transitional period before 1997. China proposed the setting up in Hong Kong of a Sino-British Joint Work Group at the same time as the Hong Kong government issued a green book on the representative system, and therefore the conversation centered on what China's attitude and involvement would be in these 13 years, how Hong Kong would adapt to the future by reforming its political system, as well as how Britain would arrange an honorable withdrawal and deployment.

Mr Chung spoke frankly, and we believe that, except for parts which must be secret, he said all he could say. Reflecting on his conversation, we find that it has unique content. During the interview we put forward many different opinions, causing some disputes, but our disputes were focused on problems, not on people. He went into great detail about his interpretations of the matter and also was rather insistent about them, but he expressed an attitude of respect for different opinions. We think this was a substantive, valuable, and meaningful interview.

Question: Mr Chung, we are happy to know you, and we want to thank you for granting this interview. From your report, I see that you are quite a frank person. Of course, because of your status, there are some things you cannot say, but we hope that you will tell our readers and the residents of our city as much as possible the things that you know and your ideas. Second, we hope you will discuss the conception and key points of the representative system that has been put forward. Third, we hope that our conversation will center on the 13-year transitional period, with the content being nothing more than three points: how China's involvement is to be estimated, how Hong Kong will make the transition to being under China's sovereignty, and how Britain plans its withdrawal.

First of all, with regard to the estimation of China's involvement, people are now very interested in the Sino-British Joint Work Group. What are your views on it?

Answer: With regard to the joint work group, under normal circumstances, the Chinese side has its arguments. However, there are usually two kinds of consultations: one is consultation from the top to the bottom, and the other is consultation on an equal footing. In the consultation from the top to bottom, for example, when the government consults with a certain organization the organization may express its opinions, but, after the government has listened, if it concludes that it cannot accept the opinions, the government may not adopt them, and can even not explain its reasons, and that organization has no power to demand that the government comply with its opinions. A company director may advise a department head of his opinions. If the department head thinks the opinions are incorrect, a good director will give



his explanations, but afterward, even if the department head is dissatisfied, he has no recourse; some directors simply do not give explanations. But, in any case, the department head cannot interfere with his superior. This is consultation from top to bottom. In consultation on an equal footing, for example, you and I are directors in a company and are on an equal footing. If I don't agree with you and you don't accept my explanations, you can vote against me on the board of directors, with each of us sticking to our own positions. If there are only two persons on the board of directors, there must be a compromise. I am afraid that this kind of situation will arise in the present joint work group. Take, for example, the sale of land. If the Hong Kong side prepares to sell a certain amount next year and a certain amount the year after that, the other side will say: If you sell too much, what can I sell after 1997? And the Hong Kong side will say that it certainly wants to sell, first, because the market price is good, and second, because there is some necessity to sell. If the other side still does not agree, can the Hong Kong side fail to understand and cling obstinately to its own course? The answer is that it cannot, and the result will certainly be a compromise. Therefore, although the intention is not to interfere or jointly control, because in the consultation process the positions of the sides are equal, there will be interference and compromise.

Question: However, with Hong Kong's situation, we find it very difficult to imagine that within these 13 years without obtaining advice and without understanding the situation, China will give Hong Kong a completely free hand, and then after the 13 years suddenly accept the situation presented at that time, and also that it will not discuss what the situation is and will maintain no change for 50 years. Do you think this imaginable?

Answer: The 50 years of no change that the Chinese side talks about is not 50 years of no change based on the situation in 1997, but on the situation now.

Question: We had understood that the system at the time of the take back in 1997 would not change for 50 years.

Answer: Right, the 50 years is counted from 1997, but will no attention be paid to any degree of Britain's accomplishments and no change be made in them for 50 years? China's policy of no change is based on Hong Kong's present economic, banking, legal, and other circumstances. China only knows the present circumstances and cannot estimate what the circumstances will be in 1997. What is called no change for 50 years after 1997 means only a continuation of the present situation.

Question: If this is the case, wouldn't there be more reason to explain the certain degree that China needs to intervene and supervise within these 13 years?

Answer: If you agree with the intervention, there is nothing you can say. But the way of putting it now is that what happens before 1997 is the responsibility of the British government. Deng Xiaoping has said that only if Britain is unable to control Hong Kong and there is a big upheaval will China consider taking it back earlier than scheduled.

Question: The question is not whether or not we agree with China's intervention, but in fact that we must consider that it will certainly intervene, particularly after 1997. The 12 years from now can be a trial to see how it will intervene. If it intervenes in 8 of 10 things, the Hong Kong people will rebuff the intervention, or they will accept the intervention grudgingly, because Hong Kong is now still controlled by the British. Gradually, it will become accustomed to its opinions being rebuffed and not necessarily complied with. Wouldn't this be fairly good for the situation after 1997?

Answer: The circumstances after 1997 will be different from those now. Take, for example, a factory. If I now sell you a factory and all parties sign an agreement that after 13 years I will hand it over to you, you will say that before I turn it over to you, I am responsible for the factory and for continuing to maintain its prosperity and stability, and even if I ruin it, it is still mine to run before 1997. This is the confidence in me that you placed for several decades in the past. At present, doesn't China criticize Britain for handling Hong Kong poorly? China says that before 1997 Britain will handle things and China will not interfere, and after 1997 when Hong Kong has been taken back it still will not interfere, but will let Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong. If before 1997 you give orders to the general manager of my factory, I should say to you: You have no right to do this, because I am responsible to you, but he is responsible to me and not to you. If you send a representative of yours to sit by the side of my general manager, then I have no prestige. If your representative's ideas are the same as mine, I will grudgingly consent. If they are different, and I say to the general manager that if this business is to be done, then we might as well lose a little profit; and then if your representative says it must not be done, how is the general manager to follow directions?

Question: However, even if we take company business as an example, a company can send a person to a company that is about to be taken over, for example, to act as a watchdog.

Answer: But it is now stated that before 1997 the profit and loss go back to the original employer, and it is not a case either of my selling the factory to you or now managing the factory in your place. Before 1997, the profit and loss is my affair. You are saying that if I incur a loss you will interfere. Therefore, you must look at the results of my management and operation. If the results are not ideal, and if I cannot keep your confidence, then you intervene; you cannot interfere before you give me an opportunity.

Question: Is it possible to be a genuine watchdog?

Answer: My answer is that if the consultation is on an equal footing it will become interference.

Question: Over the past several years, the governor of Hong Kong has never overruled a decision of the Executive Council. If the work group is set up, will this situation change? For example, if the Executive Council makes a certain decision and the governor of Hong Kong does not overrule, but the work group does not agree.

Answer: This would cause difficulties.

Question: Some people on Hong Kong worry that if the Chinese side does not participate, it is quite possible that in 1997 there will be a sudden change and not a gradual change.

Answer: But China has stated that Hong Kong people will rule Hong Kong and not that Beijing people will rule Hong Kong. This would be the case only if what it said and what it thinks are different. I gave you the example of my selling a factory to you, and your and my full-time managerial personnel, to explain that after the takeover in 1997, you would continue your management and operate the company as before. You only need to look at the results and do not need to send people to supervise the management.

Question: Looking at it realistically, I am afraid that China's intervention is unavoidable, and what I want an estimate of is the scope and degree of this intervention.

Answer: All things of the Hong Kong government are now public; it is a different situation than that in a private company, where others are not allowed to look at some things. Since the business is public, you can after the event consult Britain through the normal diplomatic channels, for example, the Chinese ambassador in London or the British ambassador in China. These channels are already in existence.

Question: Does Britain plan to extend the life of the Sino-British Work Group to after 1997?

Answer: I am unable to talk about the state of the Sino-British talks. However, some people in Hong Kong have proposed the "13 plus 13" method, and it can be said to be an eclectic method; since China wants to set up a Sino-British Joint Work group for the 13 years before 1997 to supervise the transition to 1997, Britain should demand that this group remain for 13 years after 1997 to supervise the execution of the Sino-British agreement. Many people in Hong Kong and I have proposed this eclectic method.

Question: It would seem that China could not accept the extension of the work group to after 1997.

Answer: Many people have said to me that the way to put it is: if you think that what you do here now is not intervention, then what I do in the future will also not be intervention.

Question: If Britain accepts the joint work group, what do you estimate the position of the Executive Council will be?

Answer: That is very difficult to say, and I cannot now estimate the situation in the future.

Question: If the work group is imperative under the circumstances, what kind of nature would you rather see it have?

Answer: I think that before we fight a battle we cannot count on being defeated.

Question: Is your meaning that you are still striving to have it not be set up?

Answer: The ordinary people of Hong Kong and I say that we hope this group will not be set up, because there would exist within it the possibility of China's intervention.

Question: One way of putting it is that Britain has already agreed in principle to the setting up of the work group, but not necessarily in Hong Kong but, for example, in London or Beijing. In that case, would there be any essential difference than if it were set up in Hong Kong?

Answer: This is only hearsay and I cannot confirm it.

Question: As far as you know, is this still an open question?

Answer: As far as I know it is still under discussion.

Question: In that case, in what direction can we hope the discussion is heading?

Answer: According to what I know, the opinion of the Hong Kong people is: either not have the work group, or if there is the work group then it should be as I said: the "13 plus 13" method.

Question: Do you think that in the green book down to the white book what is being put out on a representative political system, Britain has made plans for its withdrawal and made preparations for Hong Kong's transition?

Answer: Britain has affirmed that it will withdraw, and Sir Geoffrey Howe, the foreign secretary, has already announced this. The foreign secretary has indicated that if the progress of the talks is in line with the general orientation, in 1997 Britain will hand over Hong Kong. However, there is one precondition, namely, that there be no trouble in the talks--for example, a sudden suspension or a breakdown of negotiations. If there is no trouble in the talks, Britain's power of governing will end on 30 June 1997. Hong Kong is now under a colonial system, and the governor of Hong Kong, the principal leader, is appointed. The ordinary Hong Kong person now hopes that this principal leader will not be appointed by Beijing, but will be elected by or will emerge from the Hong Kong people. Therefore, in the future there will be no reason for Hong Kong to follow the colonial government's organization, and it can pursue a popularly elected political system. None of us hope that the Hong Kong government will continue the present colonial government system straight up to 1996, following which elections will suddenly be held. Therefore, we want to use these 13 years to change to a system of popularly elected representation. We hope that this government will unlikely need to be changed when the Chinese government takes over in 1997.

Question: In the composition of a democratic government, its representative nature is very important. In their travels to London and Beijing, the members of the two councils were unable to say that they themselves represented the Hong Kong people, and the reason was that the position of the council members was that they were not elected by or engendered from the Hong Kong people. Why, when proposing the representative system, do you not put direct elections on your daily agenda?

Answer: You must look at how the representative nature is interpreted. Direct elections and indirect elections can both be representative. Even Britain's situation can be said to be one of indirect elections, because the ones who are directly elected are the members of parliament, and many of them have been elected by the votes of only several thousands of electors; and who the prime minister is and who the ministers are is indirectly produced by decisions of the party in power.

Question: But the electors elect the members of parliament taking into consideration what party is in power.

Answer: The present green book provides for the same thing by dividing the process into two major elections. A batch of people are first elected, and then they elect persons to be on the legislative and executive councils. Likewise, Britain first elects members of parliament, who then elect the ministers.

Question: In Britain, when electors decide to elect Conservative Party members of parliament or Labor Party members of parliament, if they want to see the Conservative Party in power they will vote for Conservative Party members of parliament. And in America the situation is even more clear. When voting for members of an election delegation, if the member does not express to the electors his support for either the presidential candidate of the Republican Party or the Presidential candidate of the Republican Party, then there is simply no way that he will be voted into the election delegation.

Answer: That is not absolutely true. Britain has many small parties, and also individual election participants, but their chances are fairly small. There are many persons in the national assemblies of Britain and America. The lower house of the British Parliament has 650 persons. Among 650 persons, the chance of producing 20 or 30 talented persons who are competent to be ministers is very good. Among more than 600 persons, there will naturally be lawyers, engineers, doctors, financial and economic experts, persons talented in education and welfare, and so forth. But in a small place, such as Hong Kong, the nonofficial members of the legislative assembly are only 40 persons, and even with the official members, the number is no more than 50. If we want to produce administrative talents and experts in various fields from among 40 persons, it is very hard to envisage that they can be produced by direct elections, and if the system of political parties is put into effect, provided more than 25 persons are elected, that is, more than half will enter the main government. So, it would be even more difficult to produce talented persons and experts from the 20-odd members of the legislative assembly who are directly elected. Second, if we look at the example of Italy over the past several years, because one political party has been

unable to obtain a majority of the votes, the government has changed every several months. It is thus obvious that for Hong Kong the danger of direct elections is very big. Third, it is easy for a direct election to become a popular vote, for example, going to those with the best image and gifted with a silver tongue but without real capabilities. In America, Carter won on his television image; Nixon was defeated by Kennedy under identical circumstances. Hong Kong is tiny, but its economy is strong. Although the sparrow is small, its five internal organs are complete. Hong Kong has as much administrative and legal work as a big country; there are not many people on the councils, and the burden on the average member is very heavy, and therefore Hong Kong's councils are more in need of talented persons. The advantage of indirect elections is that everybody has worked together and they understand who has talent.

Question: This is a hypothetical situation. The question is whether this elected group would become a consultative tool of those in power. Say, for example, that in the elected group people were not all that well acquainted with each other, and when all of the members sit down to vote in a circle in a relaxed manner, the so-called democratic politics would become a "flower vase" in the hands of the powerholders.

Answer: No, this wouldn't be the case. After these persons are elected, the work they do is there for everybody to see.

Question: Again, perhaps if the capability for control and direction of the bureaucratic situation was strong, and also full-time, it would easily produce a situation in which the bureaucratic stratum manipulated this elected group and influenced its election of personnel.

Answer: The elected group would be elected by constituencies, and the 400-odd persons would know better than people on the outside who was good and who was not. Also, the regional legislative assembly has a history of a good many years, and its members have worked together for several years, so they should know who is better qualified.

Question: The question is who would coordinate the several hundred assembly members of the different regions--a government department or they themselves?

Answer: That is their affair. These 400-odd persons are responsible to the voters, and this would be analogous to the party in power electing a prime minister and the other ministers who were not qualified.

Question: But these 20 persons would only be responsible to the 400-odd persons.

Answer: Afterward these 400-odd persons would be responsible to all the residents of Hong Kong, because they have a term of office and hope the voters will reelect them to another term.

Question: In that case, how is the representation of the different functional groups, like doctors, lawyers, industrial and commercial circles, and labor

organizations to be decided? There are so many professions in Hong Kong, how is it to be decided which profession is qualified and which is not?

Answer: This can be done on the basis of numbers, for example, the industrial circles would be one, and the large professions and trades would be divided into commercial circles, banking and financial circles, lawyers' societies, doctors, accountants, engineers, labor organizations, social undertakings, and educational undertaking.

Question: If we agree on the different specialities, can it be stipulated that some seats must be for people of certain professions or trades, and that they must be directly elected?

Answer: That is more difficult. If you ask me which doctor is good, I wouldn't know; doctors must select doctors before we can know who is fairly good, because doctors have comparatively many contacts with each other.

Question: Wouldn't they only know their medical skill?

Answer: When a doctor selects a doctor, he would not only know his medical skill, but also know whether the person was well-rounded and had insight and how he handles affairs.

Question: But the voters could likewise see these things.

Answer: There would be many difficulties. The voters could also elect them, only they have different limitations and have not taken part in electing doctors or engineers. If doctors were directly elected, it would be hard to avoid the situation of "blind men feeling an elephant"--the chances of making a mistake would be greater.

Question: But the system should provide opportunities for people to correct their own mistakes. Also, with several dozens of seats, it is unlikely that a large number of them would be mistaken choices.

Answer: That is very hard to say. At the beginning the degree of accuracy would be very poor. It is like comparing a blind man with a person with sight: the blind man will probably hit the mark 1 out of 10 times, while the person with sight will miss the mark 1 out of 10 times.

Question: Speaking of Hong Kong's educational level and political and social climate, can it be assumed that the common voter's level is that low?

Answer: It is not a question of educational level. If ordinary people elect a doctor, how are people to know that the doctor has common sense, has administrative and political ability and experience?

Question: What if sufficient time was given to a candidate to explain his political program and his individual experience?

Answer: The political program could have been written by other people. There is little chance for this.

Question: Some people say that the reason there will be no direct elections is that most members of the Legislative Council would be unwilling to take part in direct elections.

Answer: No. A large number of people in the present Legislative Council want to retire from office. If they want to be reelected they must also face the voters.

Question: But they do not necessarily have to go to the districts. According to the green book, the persons elected by the elected groups could be outside the scope of the elected group.

Answer: The chances of this are very, very small. It is hard to envisage that the objects of the election by the elected group would be outside the group. It is much less likely that 10 persons would be found to be nominated.

Question: If there were direct elections, do you estimate that there would be members of the present two councils who would participate in them, and if so, how many?

Answer: There probably are. It would be up to the individual to decide.

Question: Many people say that career public figures are unwilling to take part in the elections, and do not want to go out in the streets and stand on soapboxes.

Answer: This has nothing to do with whether the elections are direct or indirect. With a representative government, the nature of being nonofficial councilmen would be completely different. We are now sparetime councilmen. We think that we have an opportunity to do something for Hong Kong's society. We do not have a constituency, and we see things comparatively out of the common run. The councilmen following us will not have this attitude. They must depend on the voters, must promise to do this or that for them. Even if they are unable to make good on their promises, they must show that they are working hard for the voters. In this way there would be created in the councilmen local biases. In America in the early seventies, some enterprises which had between 10 and 20 companies under them set up direct or general offices, in one which there were several director generals, each responsible for five to eight companies. The result was that the "pork was divided up," and there was division of work but no cooperation. Future indirect elections could engender the same crisis. Also, for example, I was elected by the industrial circles. If there were any legislation detrimental to the industrial circles, I would argue strongly against it. But I am one man, and my influence is isolated and my power weak. Therefore, I will seek out doctors and other people and promise them that if they help me I will help their front, and several people can form a small political party. Thus, among 40 persons there could be several small political parties confronting each other.

Question: There is another way of putting it, namely, that if elections are held, whether direct or indirect, the career public figures and investors



will be nervous, worrying that disputes among political groupings will be engendered. The present prosperity is undependable, and elections will further damage prosperity. And any force that wants to contend with China is insignificant, because China's strength is too great in comparison. The result of the disputes caused by elections would be opposite to what one wished. Have you seen these expressions of opinion?

Answer: On this point one may look at past experience. After the war, Britain granted independence to the people in 20 African colonies, and in most of them direct elections were held, and in all of which there are many problems today.

Question: We know that a democratic system does not necessarily produce a good government, but if indirect elections had been held in these 10 to 20 African countries wouldn't their problems be less serious?

Answer: An election is not that simple. It can solve one problem but produce another one. Many people misunderstand, saying that the government certainly must do things according to the will of the masses. This is completely mistaken. Doing things according to the popular will is not necessarily beneficial to society. If one asks whether the rent on Hong Kong's public housing should be reduced, the residents of public housing, who make up half of Hong Kong's residents, are in favor, so the popular will on this issue is more than half in favor, but will it be good for Hong Kong's society?

Question: Are the residents of Hong Kong that unsensible? Next, if a popularly elected government does things wrong in accordance with the voters' will, the voters should assume the responsibility for the mistakes and consequences.

Answer: You cannot say that. If you are fully aware that your children don't know how to swim and they want to jump into the deep sea, you will stop them. The case is the same for a staff member of a company and for a student. You can only let them make small mistakes, not big ones, and if you are not perfectly aware of the mistake you still tell them what to do. This way of striving for experience is very pitiful.

Question: Is it the case that Hong Kong's society has not matured to this extent?

Answer: This is something that everybody estimates differently. I cannot prove you are correct, and you cannot prove I am correct, because we do not have results to compare. There is neither a chance to test what you say nor a chance to test what I say. There cannot be only one way, but in Hong Kong's environment, I feel the chances of my opinion being correct are a little greater and also somewhat safer.

Question: It may be said that there could be all sorts of problems in a direct election, but there could also be all sorts of problems in an indirect election.

Answer: But the present facts are as I said. For example, if a person is out of the common run, he will not always stay at the grass-roots level. With his capability he will early ascent from the grass-roots level. Therefore, there would be quite a problem finding at the grass-roots level a representative on the Legislative Council.

Answer: But this is the peoples' own choice. In a free society they can choose to stay at the grass-roots level.

Answer: If you put it this way there are difficulties. Will a person without capability, intelligence, and experience be found to lead Hong Kong? A representative system will not be represented by this kind of representative.

Question: In the West, in order to reflect in the legislative assembly the interests of the grass-roots level, it is often necessary to have representatives of the workers in the legislative assembly.

Answer: But the leaders of foreign trade unions are not necessarily workers. Many leaders of trade unions in Britain and America draw salaries. The workers elect them to represent the trade unions, but they themselves are not workers and most of them are specialized personnel.

Question: Suppose the response to the representatives system is comparatively indifferent. How will Britain arrange its withdrawal? Will it submissively hand over Hong Kong to China when the time comes?

Answer: What do you call an indifferent response?

Question: For example, the participation in the elections and the votes are very one-sided and very few.

Answer: In that case there is nothing to be done about it, and it is equivalent to the Hong Kong people themselves abandoning Hong Kong, so there is nothing they can say about it.

Question: What many people worry about is that, with the political prospects unclear, people with ability will not take part in the elections, for example, that most of those that will do so will be social workers. Doctors will consider their own individual way out. Isn't this the biggest problem? Therefore, people ask: Will the members of the present Legislative Council take part in the elections? Will other people of similar status take part in the elections? If many specialized figures seek their individual line of retreat, what will the situation with respect to election participation be?

Answer: We are now councilmen. On the one hand, we do not get a salary, and on the other hand we want to maintain our own professions. In the future the councilmen who are elected will be professional.

Question: Will their professional nature make specialized personnel more unwilling to take part in the elections?

Answer: This is not a question of whether the elections are direct or indirect. The present plan is to appoint specialized people to be elected. For example, the General Lawyers Association and the Lawyers Association will combine to elect one person.

Question: Among the lawyers, will talented persons with the most slack business be willing to be counselors?

Answer: That will be their own choice. One method cannot solve all problems. In the future elections, lawyers may take part in the regional elections, and the future composition of the Legislative Council is being inked out: the members will be elected by region and also by profession. In this way, there will be a greater chance for the Legislative Council's organization to be of an egalitarian nature than if the members were completely elected by place. If, like the legislative assemblies of Britain and America, we had several hundred members, then of course there would be some lawyers among them. But Hong Kong's Legislative Council only has 40 elected seats, and we must seek a balance with concern for all sides.

Question: The question now is whether, if there were no problems about the future, it would be fairly easy to do this.

Answer: That is another question. It is a question of the influence put on persons willing to take part in the elections, no matter whether they are direct or indirect elections. The two questions must be separated and not mixed together. The problem now is that the Legislative Council only has 40 elected seats. We cannot have a situation in which there are no representatives of industrial and commercial circles in it; in that case who would discuss the problems of the industrial and commercial circles? Also, if there were no doctors, who would discuss problems concerning doctors? To avoid these problems, it is stipulated that every major specialized profession will have a representative in the Legislative Council.

Question: You have fairly many contacts with industrial and commercial circles and with full-time professionals. Do you estimate that the plan in the green book will increase their confidence about remaining in Hong Kong?

Answer: I believe it will. The chances for this are better than there would be if there were direct elections.

Question: Are they even better than if there were no elections?

Answer: There is now no basis for there not to be elections.

Question: It is very possible that you are now a proxy for China's ideas and in the future I will be the proxy. We don't know what China's reaction will be.

Answer: After it is published we will know. Now, it is impossible not to change the mandate of the colonial government.

Question: What is your estimate of the changes in Hong Kong's society within 13 years? Will China and Britain cooperate more and more?

Answer: China and Britain have cooperated all along.

Question: The meaning of the cooperation we are talking about here is cooperation in doing things which are not necessarily identical with the interests of the Hong Kong people. Because Britain wants to withdraw and China wants to take control, there is no necessity for Britain to seek an autonomous position for the Hong Kong people.

Answer: You cannot say that. In 1948, Britain had already made a plan to withdraw. This is because after World War II Britain had this plan and the United Nations, of which Britain is a member nation, supported decolonization. On the contrary, the problem is not that Britain is not willing to let go of its colonies. America and Australia also have colonies, but because these areas are too small they are not worth being given independence. Sometimes democracy is not necessarily wonderful, and the economy is more important than it is under one-man rule. In the 19th century, colonies were beneficial to their suzerain states, for example, India and Britain; but colonies in the 20th century are not beneficial. This is also true for wars. In the 19th century, the victor made profits; in the 20th century, the victor also lost money. Therefore, the questions are not the same, as there is no advantage to Britain in keeping its colonies. The circumstances in Hong Kong are different; otherwise, it would have already begun to be decolonized in 1949. In June of that year, Sir Lo Wen-chin made a proposal in the Legislative Council for elections by stages to the Legislative Council. The proposal was taken to Britain, which gave its agreement. But on the very day that the British prime minister was to approve it, the Chinese communists founded their state in 1949. As a result, this matter was deferred. At that time, Britain feared that if it were to go ahead with letting elections to the Legislative Council take place in Hong Kong, China would point to Hong Kong's independence and on this pretext take back Hong Kong. If there had not been this change in China, Hong Kong could have been independent in the 1950's. These facts are now a matter of public record.

Question: Have you thought of a blueprint for the period after 1997 that would be different from China's responses and Howe's description?

Answer: I might as well say now that China's 10- or 12-point plan for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Zone will very easily be accepted by people. Now there are many disputes back and forth, including my going to Beijing to see Deng Xiaoping, but not about these things, which are: 1) Is it true that Hong Kong people will rule Hong Kong, and not that Beijing people will rule Hong Kong; 2) is it guaranteed that China will not intervene, that is, will it be a true noninterference like that of a head company toward the managers of its branch companies; and 3) will China's own politics continue to be an opening up to the outside world and not a restoration of the ultra-leftist line. All people are considering these questions; if they don't think of them they are not using their brains enough. If a person does not have the capability of leaving Hong Kong, he could feel that there is nothing to do and could entertain imaginery or groundless fears about these

questions; he can only hope that it will not be a case of Beijing people ruling Hong Kong, hope that Beijing will not interfere, and hope that Beijing will not turn to the left; if his hopes are not met, he can only resign himself to his fate. But if that person can leave Hong Kong, he will not think about these questions in this way. He will think: In this situation can I gamble? If I gamble and win, are the advantages? If I gamble and lose, what are the disadvantages? What are the chances of winning? What are the chances of losing? Five million out of Hong Kong's 5.3 million people cannot leave, and even to speak about such an eventuality is difficult and I fear there would be bad consequences. But about 200,000 or 300,000 can leave. Whether they gamble or not is based on the "opening market quotation." If they are compensated two for one they will leave, and if they are compensated three for one, they will still leave; good, but what if they are compensated five for one? In this case, perhaps they will consider the matter. In the talks with China now, we want to talk about a better "market quotation." In the three points I brought up, there was in all of them the hope of raising the "market quotation." The question with regard to the more than 10 years of transition is that the measures must be workable and that China will not go back on its word.

Question: Or to make people believe it will not go back on its word.

Answer: Even if they don't believe it, there must be some specific measures. For example, the establishment of a committee on the legal system, agreement to the "13 plus 13" plan, and full and exhaustive agreements. With a somewhat greater binding force, the chances will be somewhat greater, and people who have to gamble will think it worthwhile to remain.

Question: These 200,000 to 300,000 people are relatively important for stability.

Answer: These 200,000 to 300,000 people are important factors for deciding whether Hong Kong will succeed in the future.

Question: What if after the Sino-British agreement comes out, the Hong Kong people's universal reaction is not to accept it and this reaction comes to the two councils, what will you do?

Answer: Newspapers have already carried reports that the British government will set up in Hong Kong a group charged with the specific duty of collecting the opinions of the Hong Kong people.

Question: If the collected opinions are different from those of China and Britain, will the latter regard them as nonrepresentative opinions? What will you do then?

Answer: The expression of political view is very free in Hong Kong, and everybody will see them in the newspapers at that time. Of course, the leftist newspapers will support the takeover and the rightist newspapers will oppose it, but there could be seen an expression of neutrality. If they oppose the expressions of neutrality, the two councils would be both stupid and talking out of turn.

Question: But what will they do?

Answer: For example, the two councils will rise up at one call and say what we know, namely, that the great majority are in opposition. When the time comes, the newspapers will publish surveys of the popular will, just as the opinions of our previous position papers were published in a survey by the SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST. If the results of many surveys are in favor of the takeover, what will the Hong Kong government do?

Question: But we must not forget that, regardless of whether you go to Britain or to China to reflect misgivings, other people say you are only representing individual opinions.

Answer: From the results of the two surveys published in newspapers, it can be seen that we are not expressing our individual opinions.

Question: However, you went to Britain and expressed misgivings, and after newspapers published opinion surveys, you went to China, and Deng Xiaoping said you did not represent the opinions of the Hong Kong people.

Answer: That is what he said. He said we were not representative, but he didn't say he did not recognize our opinions. We talked with him about Hong Kong having a problem of confidence, and he said that he did not believe that this was the true opinion of the Hong Kong people, but was the opinion of "you three people," and even could be only the "opinion of Mr Chung." So our interpretation after we returned was that he meant that even if you say so, I don't believe Hong Kong has a problem of confidence.

Question: He admitted that there was a problem of confidence, but did not admit that the reason for it was as you said, namely, that it was produced by a lack of trust in the People's Republic of China. Our question is: If China and Britain shut their eyes and do not admit the great majority of opinions in opposition, what will you do?

Answer: There is no remedy. Hong Kong has already lost the first game in the set. To be frank, Hong Kong has now already imperceptibly accepted a blind marriage.

Question: Have you considered seeking help from international organizations, the United Nations for example?

Answer: This is a question for the Hong Kong people and we cannot at this time represent the Hong Kong people. We were not elected.

Question: Have you considered inviting an international organization to conduct a survey or take a vote?

Answer: The situation now is that China and Britain say that the Hong Kong people cannot directly participate in the talks, and China says that it knows all the opinions of the Hong Kong people.

Question: Under these circumstances, what do you think can be done?

Answer: The Hong Kong people themselves must see if there is a necessity to do something. The members of the two councils have already done all that they could. We have already reflected the Hong Kong people's opinions to Britain and China, and have explained the situation on our return.

Question: But the Hong Kong people have no organization. How can they do anything?

Answer: Some people write letters to the two councils.

Question: You have already received many letters, with what result?

Answer: There are several million people in Hong Kong. We have received no more than 1,000-odd letters. If we receive 1 or 2 million letters, the situation would be different. If you say that we should request the attention of international organizations, on what grounds do we base this request? We were not elected. However, if 1 or 2 million letters designate us as representatives, that will indicate that we have a basis. To be frank, of the letters we have received, only half were signed and addressed and the other half were not.

Question: In the past year, with regard to reflecting the popular will, you initially proposed this in the Executive Council, and not publicly, and then, with the status of a member of the Executive Council, reflected the popular will to the British side. But do you feel that in this year your opinions or the popular will you have reflected have been steadily on the retreat? For example, initially you had an opinion about sovereignty being changed to the power of governing.

Answer: Are you saying these things were the popular will? As to whether they were things brought up by the Executive Council, I cannot say.

Question: In the Executive Council, you were fairly ready to discuss these opinions with Britain.

Answer: I cannot talk about these opinions.

Question: Or, putting it this way: From the time you reflected the popular will in the Executive Council in your status as a member, to the issuing of the position paper by the delegation of the two councils, and then the opinion by the delegation when it went to Beijing, were you retreating following the development of the situation? For example, were you abandoning some original requests?

Answer: I definitely did not abandon them. The problem was that Howe announced that the British government had already made this decision, and I could not oppose it. This was a decision made in discussions by the Chinese government with the British government, and not with the Hong Kong people.

Question: For example, initially you did not necessarily favor "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" and "one country with two systems."

Answer: Negotiations are always like this. You name a price and I name a price, and step by step the two sides in the business approach each other. For example, I open with a price of 100 and you respond with 50; after talking it over for a period of time, I drop down to 90 and you go up to 60. Now, you ask me if at that time I hoped for 90 and I of course say I did not; I did not hope to reduce the price, but if I didn't reduce the price I couldn't do this piece of business with you. Also, even if the prices are 90 and 60, it still doesn't mean that a deal has been made.

Question: It seems as if China has not yet changed its price.

Answer: This is very difficult to say. For example, it is not the time to begin talking about a special economic zone, and in the 50 years of no change it will also not be the time to begin talking about it.

Question: For the Hong Kong people, can it be said that in the Sino-British talks the two big political powers, China and Britain, are controlling and dominating the destiny of the Hong Kong people?

Answer: This is undeniable. I said earlier on that this was a blind marriage, was the acceptance by the Hong Kong people of the blind marriage system.

Question: Is it a voluntary acceptance or a compulsory acceptance?

Answer: It does not matter whether it is voluntary or compulsory. It is equivalent to an acceptance by children who do not dare open their mouths against their parents' wishes.

Question: This way of putting means that it is compulsory.

Answer: There is no remedy, because Hong Kong cannot be independent. This is a fact caused by objective circumstances.

Question: When you were in London you brought up the question of the future of people in Hong Kong keeping the status of subjects of a British colony....

Answer: Our proposal was that the present rights and interests of the subjects of a British colony in Hong Kong continue to be retained after 1997.

Question: Do you still stick to this point?

Answer: Britain has not said it will not grant this, but some people misconstrue it as our wanting to move 2 or 3 million people.

Question: It is possible that in England there is this understanding or misunderstanding. But in Hong Kong won't it produce a division? Half of the people could have these rights and interests, while half of the people would not have them.



Answer: This difference has existed from the first. In fact, some people were not born in Hong Kong; others have come to Hong Kong in the past several years, and even their status cards are of different categories. This is the present situation.

Question: At a time when China and Britain are nearing argument, what measures will make people who stay in Hong Kong feel at ease during the time of transition to 1997? This would entail laying a foundation on a set of facilities that would give continuity to the political system after 1997.

Answer: This is contained in the three suggestions we made to the Chinese government. (Note: 1) The agreement must be detailed, and the formulation of the future fundamental law must be based on the relevant articles in the agreement; 2) the fundamental law must be drafted in Hong Kong and put into China's constitution; and 3) a committee on the fundamental legal system must be set up.)

Question: In this period of time you have been shuttling back and forth between London and Beijing. To be frank, some people feel that you have been criticized both in London and Beijing, and after returning to Hong Kong you have become, as Xu Jiatun [6079 1367 1470--director of the Hong Kong Office of the XINHUA News Agency] put it, "a person in disfavor with his ruler and parents." What are your feelings? For example, at this kind of juncture is it good fortune or bad to take the post of chief of the Executive Council members? What is your frame of mind?

Answer: I have said to the governor of Hong Kong: Being at this period of time the chief nonofficial member of the Executive Council, you may say I am fortunate and you may also say I am not. It all depends on how you look at it. It is just like a cup half full of water. The optimist will say the cup is half full, while the pessimist will say it is half empty. I have said this to the governor of Hong Kong and to the British prime minister. People live in the world. How many people in Hong Kong could become the chief of the nonofficial members of the Executive Council. There are not many chances. For the more than 5 million people, there is only one chance in a good many chances. And if, during your term of office, all is well, what opportunity will you have to assert yourself? Do the times produce the heroes or the heroes produce the times? If a country does not fight a war, no heroes will be found and generals will not leave behind good reputations; but if a war is fought the generals will have headaches. Therefore, looking at it optimistically, to have a war to fight is an opportunity for a general to display his role, and looking at it pessimistically, he cannot eat his food in peace. In the present situation, viewed from the good side, I have an opportunity to do some things for the Hong Kong people. Whether I accomplish them or not is not the question. I do my best not to let the Hong Kong people down. I am not able to control what the future results will be. But I frequently run into people on the street whom I don't know who come up and shake my hand and say, "Many thanks, Sir Chung Shih-yuan; you have said what I wanted to say." Viewed pessimistically, I am told by people what to do and what not to do, and what time to do things; Britain doesn't thank me, and China is even more unhappy with me. Britain says I am acting like a running dog; China says I am acting like a traitor and am "a person in disfavor with his ruler and

parents"; and some people in Hong Kong say I am a fool. All of this is determined by the position, vision, and background of those who criticize me.

Question: What do you think of your plight?

Answer: In my own view, I cannot move. I can neither advance nor retreat. If you call on me to be the governor of Hong Kong, there is no chance of this, and I have no illusions on this score; if you call on me to retreat, if I were to resign, even if it cannot be said that Hong Kong would collapse, there would still be a very big effect on it. I am now in an involuntary state. If only I had early on withdrawn before the event. But, under the present circumstances, considering Hong Kong's overall situation, I cannot withdraw.

Question: Is it necessary that you try so hard to do your best with all your might?

Answer: I cannot but do my best; otherwise, I would be letting down the Hong Kong people and my own conscience. Although I do not eat your food, I do your work. Being in the position, I have this responsibility.

Question: Have you thought of retiring or of who could continue this kind of work?

Answer: I don't know, because it is not my choice.

Question: Do you feel that the following several years will still be your era? Will there be somebody to take over in the next step?

Answer: The Executive Council and Legislative Council have many such persons, and naturally somebody will follow in my wake.

Question: You say that you cannot withdraw now. Then what circumstances do you think would develop so that you would let go?

Answer: This decision is not up to me, because the Hong Kong people did not elect me to this post; I was appointed to it by the governor of Hong Kong. I think that it is hypothetical whether I have done well. The governor of Hong Kong could say that I have done poorly.

Question: What are your own hopes?

Answer: My own main goal is in these 6 months, when this matter is finished, that I will not have let the Hong Kong people down. I cannot guarantee that Hong Kong will have a good agreement, but I have the responsibility to do all I can in this respect.

Question: Then what about the future?

Answer: It is not in my control. I can only do my best. No matter whether I must go through fire and water, I can only do my best. As for what is called "picking up Mount Taishan and carrying it across the North Sea," that is

impossible and cannot be done. If you call on me to oppose China and Britain, this is impossible, as I do not have backing and do not have voters. If you think there is something I should do that I have not yet done, I hope you will tell me whenever necessary. I have nothing to seek for. I am 66 years old, and it is not certain that I will be able to last until 1997; I am not considered rich, but I have no need to depend on others.

Question: Have you considered who might take over from you?

Answer: I have discussed this question with a personage concerned, but I cannot say anything about it.

Question: Is it that you can't say who this person is, or only whether he was asked?

Answer: We talked about things in the next 1 or 2 years.

Question: These 1 or 2 years are extremely crucial.

Answer: My term of office in this post lasts until August of next year. Next year is a big year in which there will be elections.

Question: In that case, has this kind of person come forward?

Answer: People and the times are related. Different times need different people. This position does not need that kind of person every year, and when the time comes it is possible that another kind of person will be needed. What is most important now is to see what the contents are of the agreement that emerges. At present, everybody is only guessing. After the agreement comes out, the question will be how it is carried out to make Hong Kong maintain its prosperity and stability.

Question: At present there is a dispute about some things, which you know but are unable to tell us. We are now waiting for an understanding of how detailed the agreement is.

Answer: That is very difficult to say. It is a matter of bargaining, and one must look at the goals of the sides of the business, seeing whether there is an intention to conclude a deal, whether business is good or bad on this side, and so forth.

Question: How much time do you spend on your work as chief of the non-official councilmen?

Answer: I left home at a little after 8 this morning and have not yet been to my own company. I spend 80 to 90 percent of my time at this post. There is no remedy, and it is impossible for me to resign under these circumstances.

Question: Perhaps you could be the governor of Hong Kong. With the representative system, the matter of how the governor of Hong Kong will be produced is mentioned.

Answer: To be frank, I am already old. Also, what qualifications do I have to be the governor of Hong Kong? Before 1997 Britain will still be in control here.

Question: But in 1992 it is possible that a governor of Hong Kong will be produced in Hong Kong.

Answer: At the earliest this will be in 1992, and this is only a possibility that cannot be excluded. I will be 75 then. Much less the fact that to be the governor of Hong Kong will not necessarily be an occasion for happiness. I have already reached the time when I should enjoy my remaining years. I have lasted more than 60 years. To be frank, I long ago knew that I would not accept this post. Now it is truly a case of "riding a tiger and finding it hard to get off." If I don't carry on but suddenly resign, Hong Kong will surely be thrown into disorder, at least for a period of time; if I carry on but do not do all I can or hold down my job without doing a stroke of work, then all my life I will feel that I have let down the more than 5 million people. It is like going into the arena to play football. I will not necessarily win, but even in losing I must not let my conscience down, and must kick the ball with all my might and strive to lose by a little less.

Question: Is this ball game lost?

Answer: It is not necessarily lost, but even if I lose I will strive to lose by a little less.

Question: Is it true that in 1985 you will not accept an appointment?

Answer: I will be 67 then, and I should take a rest. To be frank, these 1 or 2 years were....

Question: Too "distressing"?

Answer: Too "distressing," that kind of anxiety....there is no problem in "causing a commotion." Politics are like that. In the two councils we now have neither parties nor groups. There is no problem in the fact that everyone sticks to his own position. Only they must seek the best way. But if they don't intrigue against each other, then they slander each other. It is very difficult now to get a spirit of cooperation among the more than 30 councilmen.

Question: After the system is changed, will this cause harmony among them?

Answer: It won't be enough, because their origins are different. Just as is the case now in the other council, the councilmen with different origins have different views. To be frank, the more than 30 (nonofficial) councilmen in the Executive Council and the Legislative Council now do not have party affiliations to unite in spirit and action to do things for Hong Kong.

Question: Will the question of 1997 make everybody have a common premise?

Answer: Possibly. We are really tentatively planning for the overall situation.

Question: What about after the method of elections comes into being?

Answer: There is no way. "The needle is not sharp at both ends," and there can only be compromises adopted. At present we cannot but hold popular elections, and therefore our method is to reduce their dangerousness. Tentatively, there are no plans for direct elections, but that is not to say there will be none later, and we will review and discuss this question in 1989.

Question: The year 1997 is too close. Isn't this rate of progress a little slow?

Answer: To be frank, it takes 1 or 2 years for a councilman to get the hang of his job. If he is used to a big company, used to reading documents, and used to looking at overall audits, perhaps he is a little better off; those who are not used to these things really need time. The reason many former colonies have broken down is to be found in this point. Take India for example. Twenty years ago I had a talk with a minister, whose qualification to be a minister was that, when India and Britain were struggling against each other, he had been arrested and imprisoned by the British authorities for 10 years.

Question: Many people worry that when 1997 comes there will still be indirect elections.

Answer: We will review and discuss the matter in 1989.

Question: They also worry that at that time the body of electors will be manipulated by China.

Answer: If there are direct elections, it could be easier to manipulate them.

Question: But there are several million people in the society, and it will be fairly difficult to manipulate them. To bring 400-odd persons into harmony will be comparatively easy.

Answer: Not necessarily. These 400-odd persons would not be appointed by China. At the present time we are appointed by Britain, but the British cannot manipulate us. Why is this? Because we don't depend on Britain's appointments to make a living. These 400-odd persons will not be appointed by the Chinese communists and will not depend on them to make a living.

Question: But in the future won't they be threatened?

Answer: If you talk about threats, the persons who are directly elected could also be threatened, but by threatening 40, one does not necessarily manipulate 400. This could happen now. Someone could say: "You must be obedient! Otherwise, I'll do a disservice to you in the future!" I have also received a good number of threatening letters, all mailed in China from Guilin, Jiangxi, and so forth. The letters say: You are pitting Hong Kong

against China, but after the takeover in 1977 you'll know what it feels like. If China were to use this tactic to form a united front or to rule, it can do so. What people now fear are these things. Perhaps, after 1997, they will not use threats at all. For example, if someone invites you to dinner, and afterward during the feast says to you: "Hey, cooperate a little! You must do this!" what can you do? Will you dare to oppose him?

Question: So the question is whether he will intervene or not.

Answer: Therefore, many people say that the advantage of the "13 plus 13" formula is that Britain will still be the middleman in many things and Hong Kong will not be a condominium. When Britain and China sign a treaty, the treaty will be a 50-year one. As a rule, Britain will have reason to say: "I want to see if you are doing things according to the treaty." This will not be interference in Hong Kong's internal affairs. You can decide not to sign a treaty with him; you have signed a treaty with him, not with the Hong Kong people. He can say: You should let me have an opportunity to look at the total accounts. If more Hong Kong people speak this way and Britain also makes this demand, confidence will increase.

Question: Therefore, Hong Kong's problem of confidence is, in the final analysis, still the problem of whether there is trust or not in the Chinese government.

Thank you Mr Chung, for granting us this interview, which took up a lot of your time today.

Answer: I thank you too.

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CSO: 8011/1920

REORGANIZATION OF JINAN UNIVERSITY REPORTED

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 13 Jul 84 p 5

[Article: "Reorganization of Jinan University in Progress; Ultra-Leftists Completely Replaced"]

[Text] Jinan University, Guangzhou, has undergone a great change since its announcement of a reshuffle of its leading body in May.

Since the resumption of its operation in 1978, this university has been all along under the ultra-Leftist influence. Using the tactics of running schools through political work, the Leftists have exercised their political control over the teachers and students with the result that the school not only lost its democratic atmosphere, but also neglected scientific research. Although they used all kinds of bombastic talks in propaganda to win a false reputation, no serious attention is paid to teaching. These activities have brought about many unfavorable comments from overseas and did much harm to the school's reputation. Because of their attempt to suppress democracy, repudiations against teachers and students, reminiscent of the cultural revolution days, also took place causing dissatisfaction in various quarters. Finally, the pressure from public opinion led to a reshuffle of the original leading body. The State Council appointed Liang Lingguang [2733 7277 0342] to act as the president; He Jun [0149 6511] to be the first vice president and concurrently the university party committee secretary; Li Bingxi [2621 3521 3556] to be a vice president; and Wang Yue [3769 6390] and Ceng Zhao [2582 2507] to be advisors. It also appointed a number of middle-aged cadres, all full of vitality and possessing good professional knowledge, to serve as deans or director of general affairs. All the former leaders have been sent away from the university.

At present, a major reform and reorganization are in progress in Jinan University. First, the personnel system. In line with the principle of "recommending and appointing capable persons," most of the deans selected are now young and middle-aged teachers, and the newly selected deans can form their own "cabinet." The school leadership will decide on the terms of service of the leaders in every department. These leaders will be replaced if they fail to live up to popular expectation within their terms of service. Second, reform in the school system. To meet the needs of modern teaching and scientific research, education in

science and technology will be strengthened in order to train special talents required at home and abroad. Subjects suitable for the communities in Hong Kong and Macao will be added so that the students from these places and the overseas students after graduation can work in their original places of residence. At the same time, overseas academic contacts will be increased so that scientific research and teaching will be raised to a suitable level. Third, the import of personnel. In future, specialists and scholars at home and abroad will be invited to teach in the school. More scholars from overseas will also be invited to give lectures.

According to what He Jun told some school directors in Hong Kong and Macao, the future policy of administration in Jinan University is to use people to the best advantage, to increase the equipment, and to strengthen scientific research and teaching. All things will be subordinated to the teaching requirements, and all unhealthy work styles of the past will be eliminated so that the university, as an institution of higher learning, will live up to the expectation of people at home and abroad and be able to carry forward its fine traditions.

To observe the progress of education in foreign countries, He Jun will lead an educational inspection group abroad with Hong Kong as its first destination in the middle of this month. This group will exchange ideas of school administration with the Hong Kong University, the Chinese University, and the college of Science and Engineering.

According to reports from the students of the university, Jinan University is now very active in teaching and scientific research, since people are feeling at ease and have the courage to offer ideas during the reform in the hope of making the university a success by eliminating the gloomy atmosphere of the past.

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CSO: 4005/753



BRIEFS

HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM--According to XINHUA NEWS AGENCY, more than 500 out of China's 805 institutions of higher learning have reorganized their leading bodies and 60 percent of the members of these reorganized leading bodies were newly selected. Approximately 80 percent of the members of the new leading bodies of all key schools in the country are young and middle-aged cadres. Those below the age of 50 account for more than 25 percent of the total number and the youngest one was only 34. The average age of the leading members at the school level is 53, 8 years less than before the reorganization. [Text] [Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 26 Jul 84 p 6] 9411

HUNAN CADRES TORTURE PRISONERS--According to press reports in South China, some cadres of Maan Commune may be persecuted for extorting confessions and making indiscriminate arrests in an attempt to eradicate crimes. YANGCHENG WANBAO said: The cadres of Maan Commune, Hunan, have organized the militia to arrest 157 persons and tortured 44 of them in extorting confessions. According to a report by this journal just received in Beijing, these victims were suspended upside down, brutally beaten, or forced to kneel on gravels or to lie flat with a heavy rock on the abdomen. The commune authorities over-reacted to the central authorities' directive on combating crimes and decided to "kill the chicken as a warning to the monkey." This news report is apt to embarrass the government, since after the turmoils of the cultural revolution, it wants all people to be equal before the law. When Beijing began to combat crimes, according to various reports, nearly 1,000 persons were executed leading to criticism by the "International Amnesty Association" of the Human Rights Organization. YANGCHENG WANBAO said: Maan Commune's action reminds people of the brutalities in the cultural revolution when many people were arrested, beaten up or killed. Local papers have pointed out than Hunan is the Leftist center to resist Deng Xiaoping's moderate policies. [Text] [Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 20 Jul 84 p 6] 9411

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